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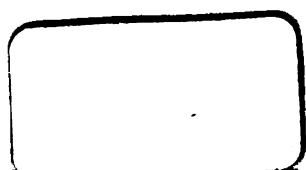
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DANTE AND GIOVANNI DEL VIRGILIO.

• • •

Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio

Including a Critical Edition of the text
of Dante's "Eclogae Latinae" and
of the poetic remains of
Giovanni del Virgilio

By

Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A.

and

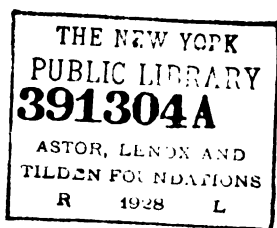
Edmund G. Gardner, M.A.

Solatur maesti nunc mea fata senis

Westminster

Archibald Constable & Company, Ltd.

1902



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TO
FRANCIS HENRY JONES
AND
FRANCIS URQUHART.

PREFACE.

OUR original intention was merely to furnish a critical edition, with a translation and commentary, of the poetical correspondence between Dante and Del Virgilio. But a close study of Del Virgilio's poem addressed to Mussato, with a view to the discovery of matter illustrative of his correspondence with Dante, convinced us that Dante students would be glad to be able to read it in its entirety. And when we found ourselves thus including the greater part of Del Virgilio's extant work in our book, the pious act of collecting the rest of his poetic remains naturally suggested itself; and so our project took the shape of an edition of Dante's Latin Eclogues and of the poetic remains of Del Virgilio.

The inclusion in our work of the Epistle to Mussato made some introductory account of the Paduan poet necessary; and his striking personality, together with the many resemblances and contrasts between his lot and that of Dante, encouraged us to think that such an account would be acceptable to our readers. The Prolegomena and Introduction, therefore, are grouped round the personalities of Mussato, Dante, and Del Virgilio, while certain matters less closely connected with our

main subject, or at any rate more capable of isolation, have been thrown into the form of appendices.

We had originally intended to treat in detail the question of the authenticity of Dante's Eclogues, which has so often been challenged or denied; but when we came to work through our whole material, this latter task appeared to us quite superfluous. The historical commentary and the explanation of the interlinear scholia found in the Laurentian MS., xxix. 8, are the all-sufficient proof of the genuineness of the poems. Anyone who, after working closely on the text, should regard the poems as forgeries, must, as it seems to us, start from critical and historical axioms which differ from our own; and, *contra negantem principia non est disputandum*. We have therefore omitted all express treatment of this subject. The remarks in our Introduction to *Carmen* iv. will show, however, that we are here using the word "authentic" in the large sense that designates a *bona-fide* contemporary document. This does not necessarily involve, in the case of the second Dantesque Eclogue, a literal authorship by Dante to which the poem itself makes no claim.

For the actual examination of the manuscripts, the establishment of the text, and the translation, the senior editor is responsible. The rest of the work has been executed in strict collaboration, but in the commentary the senior editor is, as a rule, primarily responsible for the philological, and the junior editor for the historical, matter. In the Prolegomena, the senior editor is primarily responsible for the greater part of the matter on Mussato, and the junior editor for that on Dante.

Owing to a variety of circumstances which it is not

necessary to detail, the completion of our work has been delayed for more than a year from the period when the first portions of it were put into type. The result has been that during its progress several works, with the existence of which we were acquainted but to which we had not access, have come within our reach. Others we have only come to know of in the course of our labours, and yet others have appeared while our work was in progress. Thus it will be found that the notices of Orelli's, Belloni's, and some of Novati's contributions to various branches of our subject have frequently been introduced in the form of supplementary remarks following the exposition of our own views. Cloetta's conscientious treatment of Mussato's life, and examination of the *Eccelesiis*, especially from the technical point of view,¹ was (to our shame we confess it) unknown to us till our work was completed. It contains nothing bearing upon our treatment of the subject which is not to be found in our other authorities, but on several disputed points we could have cited it in support of our views had we known it.

Vandelli's valuable researches appeared too late to permit of our making use of them.

We have great pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of the librarians of the Laurentian Library in Florence, the Communal Library at San Gimignano, the Library of the Gerolamini in Naples, the Estensian Library at Modena, and the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, most of whom have kindly answered subsequent inquiries in addition to giving every facility for the examination of the MSS. We have

¹ In his *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. I. Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter.* Halle. 1890.

further to offer our very special thanks to Mrs. Oscara Sydow Steffen, without whose unfailing readiness to collate the Florentine mss. on special points which arose from time to time, this work would have been far more imperfect than it is. The Rev. James Edwin Odgers has kindly looked through the text and translation of the poems and has detected some errors and made many valuable suggestions; and Mr. Theodore Wesley Koch has been good enough to look through some of the proofs. Lastly, we have to state that, owing to the deficiencies of the British Museum in Mussato literature (now, happily, for the most part made good), we should have had difficulty in performing some parts of our task in any but a perfunctory manner, had it not been for the able and skilful assistance given us by Messrs. David Nutt & Co. in obtaining books that are out of print and difficult to hear of. We have further to express our sense of obligation to Messrs. Constable for the patience and generosity with which they have complied with all our demands, and enabled us in particular to give our readers a faithful reproduction of the Laurentian MS. of the four chief poems.

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PROLEGOMENA.

ALBERTINO MUSSATO. DANTE ALIGHIERI.

*O mortalium singulare desiderium, libertas,
multis semper quaesita periculis!*

ALBERTINO MUSSATO.

Libertatis amor justique ignita cupido.

I.

IN the following pages we hope to inspire our readers with a certain interest in Giovanni del Virgilio for his own sake. But even the most partial of editors must be aware that the main significance of a work that deals with this forgotten poet must be derived from his connection with Dante.

Moreover, Dante's Latin Eclogues—those interesting and neglected poems which throw such a vivid light on his character and on the surroundings of his closing years—are, strictly speaking, the main subject of our volume, though they occupy a relatively small space in it; and the editing or publishing of Del Virgilio's poetic remains may be regarded as little more than incidental to the full elucidation of Dante's poems.

It will, therefore, seem natural that we should introduce the poetic texts by an adequate study of Dante's closing years, and the political conditions by which they were surrounded and to which such abundant references are made in the poems themselves. But this is not all. For

a full appreciation of Dante's Eclogues, and for any appreciation at all of Del Virgilio's most important poem (*Carmen* VI. of the present edition), it is necessary that we should turn our thoughts not only to Ravenna, but to Padua; for Padua was the city of Albertino Mussato, who shared with Dante Del Virgilio's poetic homage.

To the modern Englishman (though not to the Italian man of letters) the very collocation of these two names will seem strange and startling; for nothing is more difficult than to recover the perspective of a past age, and we can hardly realize that to the men of their own day Mussato was beyond comparison a more commanding figure than Dante. There is matter enough here for reflection on the mutability of fame; but far from taxing Del Virgilio with blindness for placing Mussato on as high a pedestal as that on which he placed Dante, we should rather give him credit for rare qualities both of heart and head for placing Dante as high as he placed Mussato.

In order, then, to reach a position of sympathetic comprehension of Del Virgilio's work, we must make some effort to redress for Mussato "the ravage of six long sad hundred years," and to give our readers a sufficiently clear picture of his political and literary activity to enable them to see him, in some degree, as he was seen by his contemporaries. We have the less scruple in attempting this task, in as much as the study will throw light on the general conditions of civic life in Dante's Italy, and will also bring us into direct contact with Henry VII. and with Can Grande della Scala, both of whom occupied so prominent a place in Dante's thoughts and exercised so potent an influence on his fortunes. In a word, we must follow the career of Mussato, as well as

trace the footsteps of Dante, to gain a clear idea of the political condition of Italy as it is reflected in the Eclogues.

II.

ALBERTINO MUSSATO was born in 1261, of humble parentage, in Padua, in the district known as the Gazzo or Gadium.¹ He lost his father under circumstances

¹ A short popular account of Mussato will be found in Balsani's *Le Cronache Italiane*, 2nd ed., Milan, 1900, pp. 264-277; or in the English issue of the first edition, *Early Chronicles of Europe: Italy*; London, 1883, pp. 275-291. Wychgram, *Albertino Mussato*, Leipzig, 1880, is favourably distinguished by numerous and precise references to the original authorities. Zanella, *Di Albertino Mussato e delle guerre tra Padovani e Vicentini*, in the author's *Scritti Varii*, Florence, 1877, is valuable for its selection and presentation of material. The monograph by Zardo, *Albertino Mussato: studio storico e letterario*, Padua, 1884, is the best work on Mussato with which we are acquainted. Minoia, *Della Vita e delle Opere di A. Mussato*, Rome, 1884, which has been long out of print, only came into our hands when this section of our work was already in type. Minoia is rightly criticised for many defects; but there is much that is valuable in his work, and particularly in his account of seven books of Mussato's history of Italian affairs, *Post Henricum*, which have never been edited (with the exception of the fragment on the capture of Moncelice), and which he studied in the Vatican MS. 2962. Zardo's and Minoia's works are reviewed by A. Gloria in the *Rivista storica Italiana*, II, Turin, 1885; and by F. Novati, *Nuovi studi su Albertino Mussato* in the *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, VI. and VII., Turin, 1885-86. The latter gives exact references to the publications in which the contributions of Gloria and others to Mussato literature may be found.

The account of Mussato given in the text is for the most part (unless the contrary is stated) drawn directly from the original sources, viz. the works of Mussato himself, the historian and poet Ferreto of Vicenza, and the other contemporary or early chroniclers. We have purposely avoided entering upon the long and often barren discussions as to Mussato's parentage, the date and place of his birth, and other such matters. We are not writing another monograph on Mussato, but merely giving such information as will enable our readers to understand the place he occupied in the minds of his contemporaries and especially of his brother poets. And moreover, it may be said in general that, whereas some difficulties and

which threw upon him the responsibility of providing, by his own exertions, for his widowed mother, his two younger brothers, and a little sister. He did so by copying books for students, which was a regular trade in the university towns of Italy.¹ It was a hard life, as he tells us in one of his poems, but one which was not without its privileges, for his *only* terror was that of hunger!² This one danger of starvation was averted by Albertino's industry and talents, and as it receded into the background the many terrors of success and

contradictions remain, on the whole the tendency of the fresh material recently made accessible is to justify the straightforward interpretation of Mussato's own words, and to discredit the refinements and ingenuities by which a number of writers have perplexed the interpretation of them. Of Mussato's own works there was an edition published at Venice in 1635, and reproduced in Grævius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, Vol. VI., Part 2, Leyden, 1722. The historical works, *De Gestis Henrici VII. Caesaris (Historia Augusta)* and *De Gestis Italicorum post Henricum*, and the *Ecerinis* are included in Vol. X. of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1727. But a great part of the *Historia de Gestis Italicorum post Henricum* is still unedited; it will doubtless be included in the new edition of Muratori, now appearing under Carducci's editorship (Città di Castello, 1900, etc.). The *Ecerinis* has been recently edited by Luigi Padrin, with an essay by Carducci, Bologna, 1900.

¹ See Raahdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1895, Vol. I., pp. 181 note 4 and 191. Mussato's contemporary Giovanni da Naone specifies "Catos" as the books he copied (see Zardo, p. 386); "Cato" is the so-called Dionysius Cato, and was the usual first Latin book.

² It would be difficult to conceive a more vivid presentation of the apprehensions under which public life was conducted and ambition gratified in the Italian states of the period than is involved in this phrase. The whole passage runs:

Parva mihi victu præbebant lucra scholares
 Venalisque mea littera facta manu.
 O labor extremus, sed vitæ tuta facultas,
 O felix mixta conditione miser!
 Sola fames nostro suberat ventura timori,
 Ille licet mordax, sed timor unus erat.

Elégia I.: De celebratione suæ diei nativitatis fenda, vel non.

of public life began to rise into view. The skill acquired by the scribe was used by the advocate, or, to adopt his own phraseology, having first sold his hand, he now sold his tongue. He became wealthy, and in 1296 he was knighted and entered public life. At some period that cannot now be determined, he married Mabilia, the illegitimate daughter of Paolo Dente,¹ and thus became allied with one of the most powerful families of Padua. From this period we find him constantly engaged in public affairs, both as soldier and as statesman. What Boccaccio says of Dante² seems to have been literally true of Mussato: "Never an embassy was heard nor answered, never a law enacted nor cancelled, never a peace made, never a public war undertaken, and in brief never a deliberation of any weight conducted, till he first had given his opinion thereon."

The facts of his public life are recorded in his own *Histories*, and in the other contemporary chronicles. Many details are illustrated or obscured by the monographs already enumerated, but we may confine ourselves to the main points. Early in his political career he went as ambassador to the court of Boniface VIII., probably to induce the Pope to restrain the excesses of the Inquisition in Padua, on which occasion he used his influence with Boniface to secure to his own brother, Gualpertino, one of the most important ecclesiastical appointments of Padua, that of Abbot of Santa Giustina.³ In 1309 Mussato was summoned to Florence as

¹ Cf. Zardo, p. 22 note. Minoia, p. 65, says it was the year before or the year after 1296; but he gives no reference in support of the statement.

² *Vita di Dante*, § 4.

³ There are indeed some chronological difficulties, but the statement of Guizzardo (cf. p. 45) is precise and authoritative. The appointment was something of a scandal. Giovanni da Naone, who wrote between 1325 and 1328, describes Gualpertino as *malorum morum malaque conditionis*

Esecutore degli Ordinamenti di Giustizia for six months from April 1st. In this office he showed rigid severity; one of his sentences, preserved in the Florentine Archivio di Stato, dooms seven men to be hanged as traitors for having shouted "*moia il popolo fiorentino ed evvivano i grandi.*"¹ He had also been Podestà of Lendinara, but the date of his office is not known.²

We may now proceed at once to Henry's expedition, of which Mussato made himself the historian.

III.

When Henry VII. entered Italy in 1310, the Paduans watched his progress with suspicious dislike. They sent no representatives to meet him, alleging in general terms to his envoys that while they wished well to the Empire they owed a debt they could never forget to the Church for having freed them from the tyrant Ezzelino³; but, when Henry had assumed the iron crown at Milan (early in January, 1311), they were formally represented by

(see Document II. in Zardo's Appendix), and accuses him of attempting to poison a rival ecclesiastic, of obtaining Santa Giustina by simony, of causing the assassination of several men whilst Abbot, of putting to death two of his own monks who sought his life. This writer, however, is a bitter opponent of Mussato, and is not to be trusted. But there is no doubt that Gualpertino had several illegitimate children, and Albertino himself declares that his patriotism made him more of a soldier than a priest—*fereque oblitus canonice amore patrie discipline* (cf. p. 29); though Gennari, in his *Annali della città di Padova*, Bassano, 1904 (Part III., pp. 78-79), declares that, after he had been appointed Abbot, he changed his whole life, observed the monastic rule, and in general performed his duties admirably.

¹ Minoia, p. 78.

² Zardo, p. 368.

³ Minoia, p. 86. Cf. *Acta Henrici VII.* Bonaini. i. 35. Florence, 1877.

their ambassadors, of whom Mussato was one.¹ Subsequently they sought to define their relations with the Emperor² more closely, and after some abortive negotiations Mussato was again sent as their chief ambassador. He received assurances that the independence of Padua would be strictly respected. An Imperial Vicar was to take the place of the Podestà, and was to be nominated by the Emperor, but only from a list of four suitable candidates submitted to him by the Paduans themselves. Further, they were to make stated contributions to the occasional and permanent expenses of the imperial court.

With these conditions the ambassadors returned to find their countrymen in a suspicious and unyielding mood, for Albuino and Cane della Scala, of Verona, had gained Henry's complete confidence to the exclusion of their rival, Vinceguerra, and the Paduans feared and detested the Della Scala. The predominance of Verona in eastern Lombardy was associated in their imagination with a renewal of the horrors perpetrated by Ezzelino. His execrated memory still lived in their minds, for Ezzelino's death had taken place only a year or two before Mussato's birth. Maimed and mutilated wretches still crawled through the streets of Padua and Verona, the living records of his cruelty; and there were still Paduans who could remember how the streets of Verona rang with the shrieks and groans of his victims, and who had been eye-witnesses of the specific barbarities to which Mussato afterwards referred in his poem. The legend ran that, when

¹ *De Gestis Henrici VII. Caesaris (Historia Augusta)*, I. 12. Cf. the phrase used in III. 6: "In quibus pusillus et ego."

² Mussato himself is scrupulously exact in calling Henry the King until after his coronation in Rome.

Padua revolted against his tyranny, he had tortured to death eleven thousand Paduans who were in his prisons. The advancement of the Scala family stood to the Paduans for the renewal of Veronese tyranny. It was Frederick II.'s support that had given Ezzelino his strength; and if Henry was intent on raising up a second Ezzelino and Alberico in Albuino and Cane della Scala, it must be war to the knife.¹ Mussato and his colleague could hardly get a hearing amidst the jeers and hissing of the senate. The Paduans were for putting themselves instantly into a state of defence and promptly informing the Cæsar that they would make no concession beyond the complimentary designation of the elected rulers of Padua and Vicenza (then under Paduan dominion) as Imperial Vicars. The representations of the ambassadors, who had been greatly impressed by Henry's character and power, could barely secure a suspension of this open defiance of the Emperor, with a view to watching the course of events before the city irrevocably committed herself.²

The course of events did not keep them long waiting for a lead. Vicenza was uneasy under the Paduan supremacy, and on the 15th April, with the assistance of Can Grande and his soldiers, she flung off the yoke.³ It is evident that Mussato saw the hand of the Emperor in this event,⁴ for he was never tired of informing the Paduans that Henry had been willing to confirm their authority over Vicenza, and that if they had taken his advice they would never have lost it. The loss of Vicenza, together with Can Grande's faithless and violent treatment of the Vicentines, intensified the Paduan terror of Veronese dominion, but the evidence it afforded of

¹ Cf. pp. 13, 38.

² *Gest. Hen.*, II. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 1.

⁴ And rightly so. See the passage in Ferreto (Mur. IX. 1065-71), and the document in Bonaini, *Acta Henrici*, ii. 26, cited by Minola, pp. 92, 93.

the Emperor's swift power of chastisement threw a still heavier weight into the other scale. Elsewhere, too, his vigour and his initial successes were equally impressive. The recalcitrant cities of Lombardy were submitting one after another. Brescia alone held out, and the Paduans perceived that, unless they made their peace with Henry, they would have to bear the full brunt of his indignation as soon as Brescia fell. They now regarded the conditions which Henry had offered, and which they had so nearly met with summary rejection, as highly favourable. Mussato and his colleague were requested once more to allow themselves to be named amongst the ambassadors, and though at first they refused to undertake the task, which the insolence and delays of the Paduans had made extremely difficult and unpleasant, they finally consented, under the pressure of the public danger, and Mussato was commissioned to be their spokesman to the Emperor. He performed his task with great skill. He excused the first delays as best he could by polite diplomatic fictions, which the Emperor doubtless estimated at their true worth. He expostulated very frankly, though still in strictly correct phraseology, on the subject of Can Grande's proceedings at Vicenza, and finally offered to accept with gratitude the conditions already proposed by Henry. After three days the Cæsar vouchsafed an unexpectedly gracious reply. Substantially he repeated his former terms, promising compensation or restoration for private losses suffered by the Paduan citizens in connection with the revolt of Vicenza, but exacting a larger subsidy than he had before demanded, and giving no promise to restore the power of Padua over Vicenza.

The instruments in which these conditions were embodied were received with great relief by the Paduans, and on

June 16th, 1311, the city formally attached herself to the Empire.¹

But the disputes as to property between the Paduans and Vicentines were not to be settled by the mere issuing of a rescript; and at the end of September Mussato was despatched once again on an embassy to Henry. The disastrous siege of Brescia was in its last stage. It was difficult to say whether the besieged or the besiegers were in the more dire straits. The terrible pestilence which broke the strength of the imperial army was raging both inside and outside the walls; and at last Henry was glad to offer, and the Brescians to accept, honourable terms of capitulation, widely differing from the summary and exemplary chastisement which he had intended to inflict on his rebellious subjects.

Yet things dragged miserably on. The daily expectation of Henry's progress to Rome to receive the imperial crown was delayed. The pestilence still claimed its victims,² and was now followed by famine. Henry, the Apostle of Peace, had brought fire and sword everywhere, and was becoming hopelessly entangled in the factious disputes which he hated, and which he regarded it as his mission to suppress.

Weeks stretched to months, and the Emperor-elect was still in Genoa with no immediate prospect of advancing to Rome. Mussato, Rolando da Piazzola, and others had remained in attendance in order to show their duty at the coronation, which was always coming but never came; and

¹ *Gest. Hen.*, III. 6.

² Amongst them, Margaret, Henry's dearly beloved Queen. "It has never been believed or said that yoke-fellows of such supreme mutual love had ever existed before this couple," says Mussato; but Henry was never seen to shed a tear. *Gest. Hen.*, V. 4 ad finem.

now they pressed for leave to return to their city, promising duly to attend whenever the coronation should take place. Henry rather connived at their absence than assented to it. On the 26th January, 1312, the ambassadors returned, armed with a strongly worded rescript as to the private rights of Paduans in the Vicentine district.¹

When Mussato reported the result of his mission there was great division of opinion amongst the Paduans, and a day's delay was decreed before any decision should be arrived at. That day brought news fatal to all hopes of peace. Can Grande, who was now sole lord of Verona (Albuino having died in the previous October), formally announced to the commonwealth of Padua that he had been appointed Imperial Vicar of Vicenza; and a false report gained currency that, as a matter of fact, he had likewise been appointed Vicar of Padua, of Treviso, and of Feltre. On this Mussato's colleague, Rolando da Piazzola, delivered a fiery harangue, in which he described all the horrors of famine, pestilence, and war, which he had witnessed when in Henry's camp, depicted the prospects of the Emperor as hopeless, and his presence in Italy as a scourge of God. The very name of Imperial Vicar recalled the tyranny of Frederick II., and in Can Grande they had at their door a second Ezzelino. Mussato pleaded for moderation in vain. He urged that the rescript he had brought back from the imperial court enabled the Paduans to do with the Emperor's sanction everything that Rolando urged them to do in defiance of him. Since they could go forth under arms to secure their rights and to chastise their enemies as loyal subjects of the Empire, why should they do it as rebels? But the Paduans were in no mood to listen to

¹ *Gest. Hen.*, V. 10.

such counsels. The name of Imperial Vicar was intolerable in their ears; let them have the "sweet and sacred" name of Podestà once again. Down with the tyrants!

Rolando's proposals were carried by an almost two-thirds majority. The eagles and other symbols of imperial authority were hurled down amidst the triumphant shouts of the populace, and Padua was in a state of open revolt against the imperial authority.¹

Mussato had done his best for Henry. Himself a Guelf, he had nevertheless recognized Henry's passionate desire to stand above parties. During his long and repeated residence in the imperial court he had learned to love and honour Henry. He knew how he hated the very names of Guelf and Ghibelline, and how he resented every hint that he had come to Italy as a party leader.² But he could not be blind to the practical miseries which Henry's advent had caused; nor could he imagine that there was any difference of principle, as distinct from a difference of policy, between himself and Rolando. He had not a moment's hesitation, therefore, in throwing himself into the war against the

¹ *Gest. Hen.*, VI. 1, 2.

² *Gest. Hen.*, I. 13 and II. 5. "Or has God, the supreme teacher of what is just and right, laid upon me any more venerable command than that I should love my neighbour as myself? Is there any distinction or difference to be made amongst Christians as to who that neighbour is? Is it the German, the Frenchman, the Spaniard, the Suabian, the Lombard, the Tuscan? Is there any one of you who would dare to answer, 'It is the Ghibelline'? O infamy! Whereto did I come? Whereto was I sent? Was it to fulfil, as impious successor, whatever errors any one of my predecessors had committed? Was it to stir again the divisions now waxing feeble? Did Clement, who occupies the seat of God upon earth, incite my expedition for this? Did he seal the commission that I was to subject the Guelfs to the Ghibellines or the Ghibellines to the Guelfs? What is the meaning of this rivalry? The one brings hatred on the name of the Empire and the other on the name of the Church by using them as blinds, at the instigation of that Lucifer who fell."

Vicentines, though he disapproved of the formalities under which it was conducted. In truth, the Emperor had little to do with the matter. His hands were full elsewhere; and should he ultimately succeed, a reconciliation would be possible enough. The real foe was Can Grande, and for him Mussato entertained the same terror and aversion which inspired his countrymen. With Henry he remained upon terms of intimate friendship to the last. After his death he still continued to speak of him with unabated affection and reverence, and again and again reproached his countrymen with not having sought and retained his alliance. But he makes no attempt to conceal his errors, to tone down his occasional acts of inhumanity, or even to purge him from the suspicion of bad faith.¹

¹ *Gest. Hen.*, III. 7, IV. 6. This is the more remarkable in that the *Historia Augusta* was, at any rate initially and in intention, dedicated to Henry himself. (See the *Proem* in Muratori.) But the idea that the approximately completed history was actually presented to him rests upon a mistake arising from a careless reading of Mussato's *Epistola II.*, which is a sort of dedication of his work to the reader. A great part of the epistle is addressed to Henry in the second person, but this is only an apostrophe, for Henry is already dead, and Mussato hopes that his book will be co-heir of his fame:

" Ut mihi te facilem sineret dum vita, dedisti
Sic hæres famæ sit Liber ille tuus."

And his poetic coronation (see pp. 41 sqq.), which he owed to the *Æcerinis* and to the *Historia Augusta*, has already taken place:

" Jure tibi teneor, rex invictissime, pro te
Accedit capiti nexa corona meo."

Has any monarch ever had an account of his own deeds presented to him in his lifetime in which such strict impartiality was observed as in this history, wherein nothing is extenuated and nothing set down in malice? But at any rate, if we may trust Mussato, Henry had fair notice of what he was to expect. Mussato told him that he (Henry) would draw his own portrait as it would appear in the History, and expressed a hope that the king's constancy might give unity and consistency to the record:

" Fac tua sit nostri series constantia libri,
Namque erit hic vitæ fons et imago tuæ."

Mussato's chronicle is a strictly contemporary record,¹ and it enables us to follow only too clearly the terrible story of the times.

Details as to the main stream of the history are not necessary for our present purpose, since we are mainly concerned with side issues; but for that very reason it will be most convenient to set down what little we have to say about Henry's own proceedings before we go on to examine the characteristics of the struggle upon which Padua now entered.

IV.

The tragedy of Henry's expedition is familiar to students of Italian history. It was a hopeless attempt to pacify the factions of Italy with no adequate resources at command, save such as could be secured by playing upon those factions themselves. We read with a sense of despair the history of Henry's growing entanglements; we feel for his humiliation

¹ While telling of the expedition of Don Fernando, the grandson of Alphonso the Wise of Castile, in support of the Tuscan Guelfs, which took place in February, 1313, he speaks of "the Philip who is now reigning in France" (*Gest. Hen.*, XI. 10), and Philip died November 14th, 1314; and again, when he tells us of the dispatch of Henry's brother, the Archbishop of Treves from Pisa to Lombardy, in March, 1313, or thereabouts, he speaks of the various surmises to which this step gave rise. Some believed he was to make preparations for receiving the reinforcements from Germany, on the arrival of which Henry, then in Pisa, would again turn south to vindicate his authority in Rome and Southern Italy. Others declared that the king was unable to hold his forces together, and was breaking them up with a view to an inglorious and perhaps clandestine retreat into Germany; on which Mussato says: "But the event will reveal the truth of the matter, as I write on point by point" (*Gest. Hen.*, XII. 6). Now the truth of the matter was conspicuously revealed within a few months, as we shall see; for Henry himself died on August 24th, 1313, when conducting military operations against Siena, in course of his great expedition by land and sea against Robert of Naples.

as he advances to Rome for his coronation, too weak to chastise the insolent attack of the partisans of Robert of Naples even when he is in the very act of entering his capital; as he forces the cardinals to perform the ceremony of coronation (June 29th, 1312) in St. John Lateran because he is unable to gain possession of St. Peter's; and as, after receiving the insignia of the empire of the world, he hastily retreats from his capital for fear of capture. But what are our feelings when we find this high-souled and chivalrous man, this political Messiah, on his way north from Rome and Tivoli, giving over the district of Perugia to his French and German soldiers to loot and devastate *without distinction between his opponents and his supporters* in order to strike terror into the revolted cities of Tuscany?¹ Meanwhile "Tuscany and Lombardy, shattered with the disasters of war, were all deformed by ruined houses. The desolated fields were a woeful sight only to look upon. Whosoever should venture upon his way beyond the walls of any city had death or capture before his eyes; and the brushwood and brambles were making the very roads indistinguishable from desolate forests or marshes, while the whole face of the provinces rang with the trumpet-sounds of war. Within the fortresses and the open cities there was nought but constant watching by night and clang of arms by day, and Mars alone claimed every power for his own."² This was the issue of the crusade to secure equal rights to Guelfs and Ghibellines!

Next comes the abortive siege of Florence, in which the imperial army was in greater peril than the Florentines. Henry drew off his forces to San Casciano and then to

¹ *Gest. Hen.*, IX. 1.

² *Ibid.*, XI. 1.

Poggibonsi in Valdelsa, and finally withdrew, or escaped, to Pisa. In the summer of 1313 he turned south again, with land and sea forces, to chastise Robert; but he was attacked by fever and met his death at Buonconvento, near Siena, on August 24th, 1313.

The news of Henry's death sent a thrill of exultation or of horror to the remotest bounds of Italy; for, in spite of the desperate nature of his enterprise and the almost unbroken series of checks or reverses which he had experienced, he was still a potent factor in Italian politics. The vague grandeur of the Imperial pretensions and traditions still impressed men's minds. The equally vague possibilities of German reinforcements constituted a permanent source of uncertainty in the situation; and above all the personality of Henry, whose dignity no humiliation could lower, and whose courage no disaster could daunt, had made it impossible for his adherents to despair even when their cause seemed most desperate.

A panic now seized the Imperial party. The main army broke up; each constituent element of which it was composed sought individual safety where it was best to be found, and the cities and factions which had espoused Henry's cause sought an opportunity of changing sides, or, if that was impossible, prepared themselves for the worst. And the Guelfs anticipated an immediate and conclusive triumph.

But fears and hopes were alike delusive. Henry's expedition had indeed intensified the hostility of the Italian factions; but the forces which he had brought into play he had not created, nor were they essentially modified by his disappearance from the scene. Strangely enough, such effect as his death had in Tuscany and

Lombardy was rather in the direction of strengthening the Ghibellines than of strengthening the Guelfs. Frederick of Sicily¹ had supported Henry against his own hereditary foe, Robert of Naples, but only in a half-hearted way. He now seemed to be the natural chief of the Ghibellines and came in great state to Pisa to consult for the common good of the Imperial cause; but the negotiations were abortive,² and Frederick concentrated his attention on an invasion of Robert's dominions. This reacted powerfully upon Robert's position in northern and central Italy, where he had gradually been strengthening his hold on the Guelf cities. He now left them to shift for themselves, and concentrated all his resources on resisting Frederick within his own domains. The Guelf cities, therefore, were left to their own resources at the very moment when Henry's death, by removing the only fear that they all had in common, had removed the pressure under which they had united together. The Ghibelline cities, on the other hand, ceasing to look vaguely for the support of the Emperor, developed their own resources with increased energy. The master spirits of the Ghibelline party had a freer hand, and wider scope was opened to their ambition; and accordingly we now enter upon

¹ Frederick II., grandson of Barbarossa, was succeeded in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily by his son Manfred, who fell in battle against Charles of Anjou at Benevento (cf. *Purg.* VII. 112-114) in 1266; his kingdom passed over to his victor. In 1282, after the massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers, Pedro of Aragon wrenched Sicily from the house of Anjou, which still retained Naples. Pedro married Manfred's daughter Constance, and Frederick of Sicily was their son, and so the representative of the Hohenstaufen line. Robert, the reigning king of Naples, was the grandson of Charles of Anjou, and also the brother-in-law of Frederick of Sicily, who had married his sister Eleanor.

² *De Gestis Italicorum post Henricum VII. Cæsarem*, I. 3.

the period of the great Ghibelline soldiers, adventurers, statesmen, or tyrants, the first of whom to rise into prominence are Matteo Visconti in Milan, Uguccione della Faggiuola in Pisa, and Can Grande in Verona. It is with the last-named that we are immediately concerned.

During the Emperor's life his drooping cause had been maintained only by the faithful affection of the Pisans, and, in a less degree, of the Genoese, by the energy and skill of Matteo Visconti at Milan, and indirectly by the prowess of Can Grande at Verona. For though Can Grande was maintaining his own cause much more than that of the Emperor, and though he had at first no striking success, he no doubt succeeded in preventing the Paduan hostility to the Emperor (for which Cane himself was so largely responsible) from causing any direct embarrassment to the Imperial arms. Eastern Lombardy practically neutralized itself.¹

V.

We now return to the affairs of Padua. We have seen how the Paduans in January, 1312 (some nineteen months before the Emperor's death), had thrown off their allegiance to the Imperial cause. But Henry's fortunes only indirectly affected them, for their actual foe was the Lord of Verona.

¹ A curious illustration of the way in which the local relations overshadowed remoter considerations of general politics, is furnished by the conduct of the citizens of Treviso, who swore fealty to the Emperor on one day and on the next (Aug. 9th, 1313) entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Paduans against Can Grande, the Emperor's Vicar, and Henry, Count of Gorizia and Aquileia, who was bringing up reinforcements to him (*Gest. Hen.*, XV. 2).

The struggle between Can Grande and the Paduans was for the possession of Vicenza, and the war therefore was technically between Vicenza and Padua. The history is given us in a nutshell in Mussato's words: "Between the Paduans and Can Grande, Vicar of Verona and Vicenza, fierce war with perpetual unintermittent devastations was pursued."¹ Throughout this dismal period which is lightened by many acts of individual courage and public spirit, and darkened by as many acts of public and private treachery and cruelty, we find Albertino Mussato consistently performing the duties of a patriotic citizen, valiant in the field and wise in the council chamber—

"Fece col senno assai e con la spada,"

—while his hardly less warlike brother Gualpertino, the very unecclesiastical Abbot of Santa Giustina, is constantly at his side.

After his first success in seizing Vicenza, Can Grande had on the whole had rather the worst of it in his conflict with the Paduans, who on one occasion had marched up to the very walls of Verona itself.² But the real sufferers were the wretched peasantry. The ravages of the Paduans extended all over the basin of the Brenta, and along the left bank of the Adige, and the reprisals of the Vicentines sometimes reached almost to the walls of Padua. Here is a specimen entry from Mussato's Chronicle: "Shifting camp, therefore, he set fire to Schio, Torre, Magrè, Zanè, Thiene, and all the other towns that remained in that district, and withdrew his army to Bassano, carrying off the

¹ *Gest. Hen.*, XII. 4.

² In June, 1313. *Historia Cortusiorum*, I. 19. (Muratori, *Rer. Italic. Script.* XII.)

whole harvest that the wretched peasants had gathered into their several houses.”¹ The plundering expeditions of the two cities were varied from time to time by the Vicentines diverting the waters of the Bacchiglione from the channel by which they reached Padua, and the Paduans destroying the works erected by the Vicentines.

Some abortive negotiations had been entered upon after Henry's death, but they can scarcely have been seriously intended. Mussato, who was one of the ambassadors appointed to meet Can Grande's representative, insisted on the evacuation of Vicenza, and indulged in a rhetorical denunciation both of Henry and of Can Grande; but he seems to regard the performance rather as a wit combat than as a serious negotiation.² Such diversions were quite in the spirit of the time. We hear of a later occasion on which Can Grande had approached within a short distance of Padua itself. He was on one side of the Canale di Battaglia, and the Paduan mercenary, Vanni Scornazano, was on the other. Cane threw back his helmet, and after a friendly greeting taunted the Paduans with letting him approach so near their city unattacked. Vanni answered that since he had so often allowed the Paduans to wander at their will through his territory without offering them any kind of insult, it would be churlish indeed should they resent his returning their visit in state. Cane presently declared that he was really sorry for the

¹ *Post Henricum*, IV. 5. This was an achievement of Ponzino dei Ponzoni of Cremona, Podestà of Padua, in the summer of 1314, but it might refer to any period or to either side during the protracted wars between Can Grande and the Paduans. These wars are referred to generally in a much discussed *terzina* of the *Paradiso*, IX. 46-48.

² *Post Henricum*, II. 2.

Paduans; on which mighty laughter arose from the other side of the canal, with the retort that if he wanted matter for pity, he could find it in abundance amongst his own subjects without looking for it abroad.¹

Amid such scenes as these² the autumn passed, and the terrible winter of 1313-1314 set in.

"The Lombards also kept quiet within their respective boundaries, the freezing cold keeping them inside their walls. Beyond the suburbs of the cities and towns there was no security from brigands. The cultivation of the soil was forgotten, and there was no prospect of a coming harvest. The peasants, crowded within the walls of the cities and towns, plied whatever servile office they could find, in dire penury; and the citizens too, with exhausted substance and empty garner, contracting their wonted expenses, dragged out their days in parsimony. Yet gnawing thoughts did not cease to ply their inflamed minds. Hatreds were to be cherished, vengeance planned, strength gathered for the spring-time, combinations to be made with the neighbours of the same faction, and conspiracies hatched. There was no talk of peace, since their wishes inclined not that way. In such straits the winter passed."³

No sooner did the frost yield than hostilities were resumed; but in the spring Padua was the scene of internal confusion. When the struggle with Can Grande became serious, the extreme democratic constitution (somewhat on the lines of the Florentine *Ordinances of Justice*, but with two Tribunes or *castaldi delle arti*) had been abolished in

¹ *Post Henricum*, III. 7.

² Selected, be it observed, without reference to chronology, as generally characteristic of this war.

³ *Post Henricum*, III. 5.

favour of a more concentrated and aristocratic form of government; but the confusion into which party names had fallen is well illustrated by Mussato's habit of calling the extreme democrats "Ghibellines." The change of government brought only a change of evils. The narrower basis of authority was more easily controlled by corrupt and wealthy citizens. Two men, Pietro degli Alticlini and Ronco Agolante, were rapidly achieving that position of complete though unofficial control of the State, which at this period of Italian history is too frequent to allow us to call it anomalous. According to the popular report, supported by Mussato's authority, they, and their yet more villainous sons, combined every form of public and private vice in their persons; and after making every allowance for the temptation to reproduce the Ciceronian and Sallustian descriptions of Catiline, which comparatively few historians have been able to resist, we may still suppose that these men belonged to the worst type of their unlovely species. Mussato, in his capacity of "Ancient," had already on one occasion compelled Pietro to disgorge sums which he had appropriated from the public treasury. A few months later he had succeeded in carrying a system of *ad valorem* taxation upon all commercial transactions, by which he thought the wealthier citizens might be compelled to contribute their quota to the expenses of the State. Again, Mussato and Rolando da Piazzola had used their utmost influence to moderate the reckless policy of the two plutocrats in indulging their political and private animosities by drawing up lists of citizens to be exiled and getting them sanctioned by the servile bodies of magistrates.

The old and honoured family of Carrara were naturally looked to to oppose the two tyrants, but the heads of

the family shrank from embroiling the city in internal disputes. For a time their moderating influence prevailed, but at last two younger members of the clan, Obizzo and Niccolò, broke away from their control and put themselves at the head of the people. The market-place was crowded with armed men shouting 'Long live the People!' The Podestà, the Bishop, and Mussato himself strove to quiet and disperse the mob, but they perpetually reassembled, till at last the ominous cry of 'Death to the traitors!' was added to the innocent 'Long live the People!' On this a rush was made upon Pietro's house, which was promptly looted, and ghastly stories were circulated and believed of the horrors revealed by its dungeons.¹ The next day came the turn of Ronco, who was dragged out from the house of a friend where he was endeavouring to conceal himself, and stabbed with countless daggers. One of his adherents or friends, who was with him, shared his fate. Then the happy thought occurred to some one (we may fairly suppose that it was some moneyed man who objected to the success of Mussato's system of taxation) of urging the mob to fall upon the man who was consuming and impoverishing the people by the newly-invented tax; whereupon a rush was made for Mussato's house. He happened to be with his next-door neighbour, one of the Dente family, who urged him to hide in a subterranean cellar.

¹ Mussato, though a very faithful and convincing historian when he is telling a plain tale, takes himself very seriously as an artist, and when he thinks he has a proper opportunity he tries to do literary justice to it. We have hinted that Cicero or Sallust may be responsible for some traits in the character of Petrus and Roncus *cum suis*, and we strongly suspect that Seneca's imagination, which revelled in all that is loathsome and monstrous, is responsible for some of the details in the description of the dungeons.

Meanwhile the more disciplined bodies of soldiers under the control of the authorities were hastening to the defence of his house. But Mussato disdained to be thought guilty, and shrank from defending himself at the price of shedding the blood of citizens, even the most infamous. He mounted a horse, and made his way to a neighbouring gate of the city to a place of retreat three miles distant. The Podestà, supported by Neri and Obizzo themselves, succeeded in restoring some order, but one of the sons of Ronco, who was endeavouring to escape from the bishop's palace, in which he had found a temporary refuge, was seized and slain. The authorities were in momentary terror of Can Grande taking occasion from the confusion into which Padua was thrown to fall upon the undefended walls and gates, and make himself master of the city. The Carraresi themselves patrolled the city that night, and succeeded in averting general riot and plunder; but the next day the crowds assembled with the old cries, 'Live the People! Down with the traitors!' No one could tell what course events would take, and all the citizens disposed were ready to fish in the troubled waters, and find any pretext for gratifying their avarice by plunging into their animosities by murder and outrage. Suddenly it was about that Pietro and his hated sons had gathered for protection in the palace of the beloved and patriotic Bolognese Pagano della Torre. And so it was. The Bishop hated the sins and exactions of the Alticlini, but he stoutly refused to surrender them to the infuriated mob, and declared that he would die sooner than betray them. At last Obizzo accepted his personal word for a safe conduct, and attempted at nightfall to conduct them secretly to a place of security, but his companion Niccolò, who had been no party to

pledge, chanced to meet him, with a band of armed followers, and when he discovered whom he was escorting, in spite of his protests, he seized the father and the three sons and dragged them before the assembled people. Then a hideous scene took place. The three sons were one after another slaughtered before their father's eyes. He himself was then butchered. After this the storm sank as rapidly as it had risen, but we are incidentally informed that the old democratic constitution was completely restored.¹

And this is how history is written, by even the best of contemporary historians. We have details of the personal appearance of certain public men, of the particular character of the abominations which they practised, of the indignation directed against them, and of the outrages done upon their lifeless bodies. Our imaginations are bewildered by the unexplained suddenness of the rise and subsidence of the colossal riot; we wonder whether there were such things as cause and effect at all in public life in mediæval Italy; and then an incidental expression makes a ray of light break through. We look; the clouds part; two political revolutions have taken place—a democracy has been suppressed and re-established! So after all, the political issues at stake were proportionate to the magnitude of the upheaval, and the Paduans gave up shouting 'Long live the People!' and 'Down with the traitors!' not because five or six usurers and profligates had been brutally murdered, but because the political machinery which they felt as an intolerable tyranny had been swept away and their constitutional liberties vindicated.

¹ *Post Henricum*, IV. 1.

Albertino Mussato was requested in due form to restore himself to his country, which would seek by multiplied honours to atone for the insult that had been offered him.

VI.

All these events took place about the end of April, 1314, and when Mussato returned he delivered an impressive address to the Paduan magistrates, which is the most striking specimen of his eloquence which we possess. "If it be not an impiety to use the phrase of the Redeemer of the World, *O my people, what have I done unto thee?*¹ 'Forty years long have I led thee through the desert,' saith he; and I, Mussato, say, 'I have led thee, O people of Padua, throughout almost as many months on my path and in my chariots, through terrific dangers, and thou dost thyself confess that thou hast strayed therefrom in thine own worthlessness.'" No one, he declares, had dared to bring any charge of personal ambition or corruption against him. Again and again had events vindicated the wisdom of the advice to which his country had so often been deaf, to her hurt, which she so often wished too late that she had adopted. He was accused of contemptuous denunciations of the people. The charge was true. When, in storming the citadel of Marostica, he had found himself, with some twelve valiant companions, deserted by the Paduan soldiers; when he had borne the victorious standard of his country across the moat of Pojana, and the dastard soldiery had failed to bring up the scaling engines; when

¹ Cf. Leonardo Bruni, *Vita di Dante*. "And amongst the rest was a long letter that begins, *Popule mi quid feci tibi*."

the suburbs and fortifications of Legnago had already been deserted by their defenders, and the greedy Paduans neglected to push their victory, because they were more anxious to secure their plunder than to secure their conquest, while he, struggling out of the moat into which he had been hurled in the conflict, urged them forward in vain—yes, then he had reproached the people, and he gloried in having done so. And that other charge, the charge of having supported and carried a proposal (not originally his own) by which the poor and rich might bear in due proportion the burdens of State, and intolerable oppressions and exactions might be stayed—that also was well founded, and in that also he gloried. There had been cries, too, for the death of his brother, the Abbot of Santa Giustina, that brother who had made his salt mines free to the State, who had watched day and night over the safety of the city walls, who for his country's sake had been more of a soldier than a churchman, had submitted rather to patriotic than canonical discipline, and had devoted his person and his property with never-failing zeal to his country. As to himself, well, let the common herd take or leave the man who had made the haughty and intractable Boniface, whom all the world dreaded, gentle and generous, who had held the train of the Empress, had sat at ease in the private chamber of the Emperor, and had won gracious terms from him for his country. Still would he continue to devote his health, his fortunes, his talents, and whatsoever else he had, to the fathers, the chieftains, and the saner people of Padua.¹

¹ *Post Henricum*, IV. 2. It is in such passages as this that the warm passions of the man break triumphantly through the properties and traditions of the scholar,—but we have had to omit a great deal about Camillus, Scipio Africanus, and Seneca.

Perhaps this recitation of Albertino's feats of arms gives us as good an opportunity as we shall have of describing his personal appearance and qualities. He is said by the contemporary commentator on the *Ecerinis*,¹ who wrote, as he tells us, under Albertino's own sanction, that he was "below the middle height, wholesome in complexion, agile in body, winning in deportment; indefatigable in vigils and toils, unostentatious in life, eloquent in speech; admirable for his genius, terrible to his opponents by reason of his trenchant use of a tenacious memory,² the athlete of debate in the Senate and the assemblies of the city, enjoying public credit, love, and popularity beyond all his coevals."

All this time the war between Can Grande and Padua continued, and we notice the sinister fact of the growing share that mercenaries take in the warfare. One conspicuous figure at this period was a certain Beltrand, a Provençal, huge of limb, desperate in courage, and supremely skilled in all the wiles of predatory warfare. He had been in the employment of the Paduans, but, complaining of the irregularity of his pay, had gone over to Can Grande, amongst whose faults we never find a close fist mentioned. Beltrand now became the terror of the Paduans, with all whose methods and resources he was, of course, thoroughly acquainted. But at last he was outwitted, and his band was scattered by Ponzino, Podestà of Padua. Beltrand, not yet at the end of his resources, contrived to throw himself unobserved into a party of his enemies, and made show of joining heartily with them in their search for fugitives in a dark forest. But young

¹ See Padrin's edition of the *Ecerinis*, pp. 72, 73.

² *Memoriæ tenacis audacia*, a curious phrase!

Paolo Dente (a relative by marriage of Mussato's), who was a mere stripling, thought he recognized the accoutrements of his horse and challenged him. "Who goes there?" "Sir Charles," answered Beltrand, giving the Guelf password. The voice confirmed young Dente's suspicion. "Then here's another Guelf Knight for you," he cried, as he charged upon him and pierced him with a mortal wound. He was carried, still living, into Padua, when the people clamoured for the torture of their dreaded foe. But Ponzino resisted the inhuman demand, illustrating a redeeming feature of the times which we not rarely encounter, in the firmness and sobriety of the responsible magistrates in the face of popular clamours.¹

The next scene we have to depict is no mere episode. One night in the beginning of September, 1314, the Paduans, who had been long preparing, made a great effort under the condottiere Vanni Scornazano and the Podestà Ponzino to win back Vicenza, which was heartily sick of the rule of Can Grande, and had forgotten the grievances under which it had smarted when subject to Padua. After a stealthy and successful march they surprised an important suburb of the city. The Vicentines received them between joy and fear, for no mediæval Italian was in the slightest danger of forgetting that the thing which an army comes to do is not always the thing which the army does when it has come. However benevolent the purpose of the expedition, those who "looked for righteousness" were more likely than not to "behold a cry." Such fears were too well justified. The mercenary captain Vanni persuaded the Paduan citizens to withdraw to a camp at a

¹ *Post Hen.*, IV. 3.

little distance, and undertook himself to keep order in the portion of the city already seized, and to protect it against recovery. No sooner had his suggestion been adopted than he rode out after the Paduan leaders, and exclaimed, "What a notion of war you Paduans have! This idea of sparing your enemies when you have conquered them, this pernicious tenderness of yours, which is in truth sheer folly and poverty of spirit, rob you of the fruit of your victories. When you were overcome by them, were none of you perchance slain or maimed? Why, they themselves never dreamt of reckoning upon any fraction of such poltroonery. Let there be no sparing of fire, sword, and plunder in a war between mortal foes." Ponzino, whom we lately saw in a more favourable light, answered indeed with a formal prohibition; but it was a prohibition which he allowed not only Vanni but his own followers to break. Mussato gives a fearful picture of the outrages committed—reckless plunder and devastation, desecrated convents and churches, shrieking and outraged women, and the misery and despair of the better disposed Paduans, who did not know whether to grieve most over the defeats or the victories of their armies. What was to be the end of it all? they asked themselves. Could none hold back these hands from plunder, devastation, and slaughter? Well might the vengeance of heaven be dreaded by the perpetrators of such deeds.¹

Whether from heaven or not, vengeance came, swift and terrible. An express had been despatched to Verona as soon as the attack was made. Can Grande, then some twenty-four years of age, was in high festival in celebration of his nephew's marriage; but without a moment's pause

¹ *Post Hem.*, VI. 1.

he flung his favourite arms, a bow and quiver, upon his shoulders, leapt upon his horse and made for Vicenza with only a single companion. He had received the message at three o'clock in the morning; at seven o'clock he rode into Vicenza on his second horse, and going straight to the stable of one of his relatives he mounted a charger, and as he drained a cup of wine, lifted his eyes to heaven and cried: "O Mary, Mother of God, on whose name I ponder twice weekly as I fast, come thou from heaven and be with me and lead me, O divine Mother, if my prayers are worthy; and if not, then may this day be the last to shine upon my eyes, provided only that thou have pity on my soul!" That day, says Mussato, makes the old stories of a handful of the followers of the Maccabee scattering thousands, and of Alexander leaping alone into the city of the foe—stories which an incredulous age had begun to treat as fables—credible for evermore. Let none doubt them who looked upon the face of Can Grande as, at the head of but forty followers, he dashed upon five hundred foemen and put them to disgraceful flight.¹ Mussato's horse stumbled with him upon a bridge, and, covered with eleven wounds, he leapt into the moat, but was seized and brought in a prisoner. Jacopo da Carrara and a few others strove in vain to rally the Paduans; but he, together with Scornazano, Rolando da Piazzola, and many others, was taken prisoner. Strings of bound captives whom the prisons of Vicenza would not hold were driven through the pitiless rain to Verona. Fugitives wandered over all the hills. Day after day they were hunted with hounds in the forest,² and the more

¹ Compare *Paradiso*, XVII. 92, 93.

² See note on p. 25.

fortunate ones straggled home in twos and threes, stripped of all they had and overwhelmed with shame.¹

Mussato's brother Gualpertino, abbot of Santa Giustina, and the Bishop Pagano had done what they could to prevent the Paduans from giving themselves up as utterly lost, when the news of this terrible disaster reached them, and had maintained some sort of sentry duty upon the walls. When the survivors straggled in, and when Ponzino himself arrived, their spirits revived somewhat. They communicated with their friends in other cities and prepared for a stout resistance. Can Grande treated his prisoners magnificently. He had a special curiosity to see Mussato, whom he had known to be his uncompromising foe both in the counsels of Henry and in the Senate of Padua. At first he covered him with reproaches and taunts; but when Mussato told him that he was untouched by insults levelled at him only because of his zeal in defending the liberties of his country, and that he should look upon death encountered in the cause as full of glory, Can Grande felt the dignity of the rebuke and received it with magnanimous patience.

Many of the Paduans had come out as though to a holiday excursion, and had brought costly articles of luxury with them. The plunder that Can Grande secured was as prodigious as his victory was glorious. It is no wonder that he was elated, and on his side gathered his allies with a view to striking a decisive blow. But day after day the rain fell in such torrents that all the rivers overflowed their banks, and military operations were impossible. Milder counsels meanwhile prevailed. Can Grande so far kept or recovered his head as to realize the desperate risks he

¹ *Post Hen.*, VI. 2, 3.

had run, and the almost miraculous character of the event ; and he probably understood that it had not in reality very seriously affected the permanent balance of forces. Hitherto he had barely been able to hold his own against the Paduans, and perhaps the best use he could make of his victory was to secure peace. Whatever were his faults, he was not without a certain magnanimity, and after some hesitation he determined to offer Padua terms which startled us by their liberality. Vicenza and Padua were to retain their territories unmodified ; prisoners on both sides were to be released ; the private rights of Paduans within Vicentine territory were to be respected, and *vice versa*, but no fortresses were to be built or repaired. Any disputes that might arise were to be referred for arbitration to the Doge of Venice.¹

Peace was concluded in October, 1314, and Mussato returned with the other released captives to Padua. We may gather something of the thoughts which stirred in his mind during his captivity, and of the temper in which he found his country, by the poem which he seems to have written immediately on his return, and the reception which it met. But, before we proceed to an account of these events, we must say a few words on the position Mussato had already attained as a poet.

VII.

There lived in Padua, at the close of the 13th century and on into the 14th, a certain lawyer named Lovato, or Lupatus, who had held high office from time to time in

¹ *Post Hen.*, VI. 4-10.

his own or other States, and of whom Petrarch afterwards declared that, "had he not mingled the twelve tables with the nine muses, he would have been the greatest poet of his own or the preceding age." Some further account of him is given in an appendix to this volume. He wrote a considerable poem on Iseult, and another on the disputes of the Guelfs and Ghibellines,¹ and there still exist in manuscript some studies from his hand of the metres of Seneca's tragedies.² He was the uncle of Rolando da Piazzola, whom we have so often mentioned in connection with Mussato. He died in 1309. The intimate relations between Lovato, a certain Bovetino, also celebrated as a poet, who died in 1301, and Albertino Mussato, are vouched for, not only by literary tradition, but by still extant poems:³ and Mussato evidently regarded Lovato with reverence as a sage, no less than with admiration as a poet. Both he and Rolando owed as much to him in their political and moral, as in their literary education.

In speaking of the days of Paduan peace and prosperity previous to Henry's expedition, Mussato says: "But the unstinted abundance of good things had now so puffed them up as to undermine them with abuses and luxury, and to accustom them gradually to growing license; wherefore an unrestrained corruption of these blessings had set in in the shape of dishonest witnesses, every form of hateful and false accusation, the practice of rapacious usury, and the wanton

¹ Zardo, p. 278.

² Novati, in *Giorn. storico*, VI. 192 note.

³ *Lupati de Lupatis, Bovetini de Bovetinis, Albertini Mussati, etc., carmina ex codice veneto nunc primum edita.* Padova, 1887. This work (by L. Padrin) was privately issued, and we have not been able to consult it. See Carducci in Padrin's edition of the *Ecerinis*, pp. 270, 271.

and morbid poison of every kind of lust. Well do I remember how Lovato the poet and his nephew Rolando, often as we conversed together in the resorts of our leisure, would constantly say that our city was day by day growing heavy and oppressed by its own bulk, and that but little time was left ere the whole order of things, now verging to its decrepitude, would break up and our constitution change, while the city's power was decreasing from the very fact of its bulk growing."¹ And in a poem addressed to Rolando on occasion of some political differences that had arisen between them, Mussato refers to Lovato as *memorandus avunculus ille*, and implies that he instilled into him the principle that no personal interest, no private friendship, no family affection was ever to be allowed to interfere with his public duty and his patriotic self-devotion.²

We do not hear that Rolando wrote poetry, though a curious little bit of evidence survives of the interest he took in antiquarian matters. Del Virgilio refers to him as the depositary of the literary traditions of the Paduan school of poets;³ and it is on his authority that we learn how Mussato became the acknowledged literary heir of Lovato. We shall see that he bettered his inheritance.

At the period we have now reached, therefore, Mussato had already won his place in public esteem as a poet by the side of his elders, and had already exchanged poems with them; though he does not appear as yet to have made public any considerable poetic work.

¹ *Post Henricum*, II. 2. Cf. Dante's *Paradiso*, XVI. 70-72:

"E dico toro più avaccio cade
che 'l cieco agnello, e molte volte taglia
più e meglio una che le cinque spade."

² *Epist.* III. See appendix.

³ *Carmen* VI. 209 and note. Novati, *op. cit.*, VI. 192-194.

But the time had now arrived for the production of his greatest poem, the *Eccrinis*. Fully to understand both the genesis and the significance of this work, we must remember how the whole political atmosphere of Padua was dominated by the ghastly memories of Ezzelino's tyranny.¹ Round Mussato's very cradle had surged the cries and prayers of the Paduans, when the death of Ezzelino seemed to bring conviction of their sins and at the same time the hope of better times to come now that the hand of God was lightened. While the flagellants scourged their naked backs with cries of penitence all animosities were forgotten, even the tools of Ezzelino's tyranny were forgiven, and men hoped for a reign of peace and love to succeed the horrors from which they were issuing.² But the dark background still remained indelibly fixed in their minds, and we learn from Mussato's poems how, when Henry entered Italy and exalted the Della Scala family, Frederick II. and Ezzelino and Alberico appeared to the impassioned thoughts of the Paduans to be walking the earth again. We remember how Rolando appealed to the same passions and terrors when he was urging his countrymen to defy Henry; and though Mussato's faithful affection for the Emperor would prevent his following such an example, yet his imagination, too, must have been early stimulated and fascinated by the terrible and tragic matter which Ezzelino's history presented. And, now that Henry was dead, there was nothing to restrain or check his patriotic appeal.

We can well imagine how his energies, diverted from all active service of his country during his imprisonment, turned

¹ Cf. pp. 10, 13.

² See the commentary on the *Eccrinis* in Padrin's edition, p. 232.

to brooding over the permanent danger that overhung his people, and flowed in poetic appeal to his fellow-citizens to remember and resolve.¹ On his return he found Padua fully ready to respond. She was not permanently either humbled or terrified by Can Grande's victory. Her self-consciousness and self-respect revived; and believing the struggle to be only suspended, not closed, she sought to prepare herself for it. Mussato threw all his poetic powers into the task of warning and encouraging his countrymen and fanning their patriotic ardour into a flame. But the matter on which his mind was engaged struck him as tragic rather than epic in its character; it did not shape itself into hexameters, but into iambic and lyric metres. Lovato had been a diligent student of Seneca's metres, and what had evidently most struck Mussato himself in his study of Seneca was exactly what least strikes the modern reader—the *actuality* of his subjects. The sudden reverses of fortune, the insolence of success and the abysmal fall of defeat, the danger and terror to which all greatness is exposed, the fierce and lawless passions excited by vengeance, by fear, or by the mere possession of uncontrolled power, the fickle violence of the multitude, and an atmosphere of unnatural cruelty and outrage—all these were real; and the swift iambic or the wail and throb of the lyric metres were the fitting vehicle in which they should be uttered.

For Padua this "tragic matter" was all concentrated in the story of Ezzelino and Alberico. The tragedy of the *Eccrinis*, then, is built entirely upon the model of Seneca, in close imitation of his metres, his phraseology, and his general

¹ We cannot accept the theory that the *Eccrinis* was an early work, now first made public.

treatment, though falling still further away from the proper dramatic form in the direction of narrative and declamation on the one hand and lyric on the other. In one passage, as has often been noticed, the dramatic form is altogether deserted, and a few lines are inserted describing the descent of Ezzelino into the lowest dungeons of the castle that he may approach nearer the seat of his diabolic father, whose aid he is about to invoke. But, apart from external form and verbal imitations, the poem has neither the merits nor the defects of Seneca. It lacks the pregnant epigrams and rhetorical surprises of which Seneca set the example, and which Lucan and Tacitus developed; and, on the other hand, it is inspired by a sincerity of emotion and a patriotic enthusiasm which are completely foreign to Seneca.¹ The

¹ As a single instance of the reality which Mussato infuses into the traditional forms of Seneca, the reader who is acquainted with Italian history at this period may take the following lines, and may contrast them with the constant return in Seneca's tragedies, in season and out of season, to the theme of the miseries of the great:

“Quis vos exagitat furor,
O mortale hominum genus?
Quo vos ambitio vehit?
Quonam scandere pergitis?
Nescitis cupidi nimis
Quo discrimine queritis
Regni culmina lubrici:
Duros expetitis metus,
Mortis continuas minas:
Mors est mixta tyrannidi,
Non est morte minor metus.
Ast hæc dicere quid valet?
Sic est: sic animus volat;
Tunc, cum grandia possidet,
Illis non penitus satur;
Cor maiora recogitat.
Vos in iurgia, nobiles,
Atrox invidiæ scelus
Ardens elicit, inficit:
Nunquam quis patitur parem.
O quam multa potentium
Nos et scandala cordibus
Plebs vilissima iungimus!

subject of the poem, briefly stated, is the diabolical origin of the brothers Ezzelino and Alberico, their hideous tyranny, and their woeful end. It expressly announces itself as a warning to the Paduans against the horrors of an alien tyranny, and as an appeal intended to stir their love of independence and to feed their patriotism. Its chief blemish, from this point of view, is the complacency with which the poet seems to dwell upon the frightful barbarities which accompanied Alberico's death.¹

The impression produced by the *Ecerinis* was profound and instantaneous. In October Mussato had returned to his city. At Christmas that year, we take it, he received the poetic crown with all the pomp of a mediæval ceremony. The Rector of the University and the Bishop accompanied him in procession. The body of professors, the civic magistrates, and the crowd of citizens followed. The *Ecerinis* itself was publicly declaimed, and the ivy and laurel crown was placed on the brow of the patriotic poet. Not content with this, Padua decreed that the poet should be escorted year by year in triumphant procession from his house to the place of public declamation, and that the *Ecerinis* should be yearly recited as a warning and an

Illos tollimus altius,
 Hos deponimus infimos:
 Leges iuraque condimus,
 Post hæc condita scindimus.
 Nobis retia tendimus,
 Mortale auxilium damus,
 Falsum præsidium sumus.
 Hæc demum iugulis luunt:
 Nos secum miseri trahunt,
 Nos secum cadimus; cadunt."

(*Tragedia Ecerinis*, 113-145.)

¹On the whole poem see Carducci's Essay in Padrin's edition, pp. 272-278. This essay is much the best criticism of the *Ecerinis* that we have met with.

exhortation to the Paduans.¹ It was just such an honour as Mussato could accept with whole-hearted satisfaction (though he tells us, indeed, of some formal resistance), for it was not out of proportion to what he himself regarded as his merits. He had a sufficiently high sense of his own poetic worth; but while sharing Dante's reverence for the great classical poets, he never dreamt with Dante of placing himself on an implied equality with them. It was enough for him to be a light in his own city of Padua; there, at least, he might hope for immortality.² And it was, as Del Virgilio rightly felt, the patriotic spirit of his poetry which received recognition from the Paduans.³ He regarded the honour conferred upon him as a testimony to the wisdom of the counsels which the Paduans had so often neglected; and to this aspect of the matter he frequently returns without the least attempt to disguise his own sense of his political sagacity and disinterestedness, or to soften the harshness of his continued denunciations of the perversity and want of courage of his countrymen. He accepted the honour done to him as a tribute on the part of the Paduans to his merit and as a confession of their mistakes, but not at all as a reason why he should give up speaking freely both of the one and of the other.

Mussato's coronation as poet marks the culminating point of his life. The honour done him by his countrymen created

¹ Amongst the quaint ceremonies of the procession we read not only of lighted tapers, but of the present of a pair of kid gloves to the poet in commemoration of the venerable connection of the goat with the glories of the tragic muse.

² He is no Livy, he tells us, no Virgil, no Catullus, no Statius, no Lucan, but

"Si me Roma suis nollet conferre Poetis,
Hac saltem Patava tutus in Urbe legar."

(*Epist.* I.)

³ *Carmen* VI., at the beginning.

a profound impression throughout Italy. Literary tradition recorded the coronation of Statius as the last occasion on which this token of honour had been conferred on any poet, and the revival of the practice fired the imagination of the scholars and poets of the time. Del Virgilio's works speak for themselves. Ferreto, the poet and historian of Vicenza and Mussato's friend, gravely, and no doubt truly, assures us that if Mussato had received the crown previous to his captivity in Vicenza, Can Grande would have received and entertained him in his own palace; and every reader of the *Paradiso* knows how deep into Dante's heart the longing for a similar act of recognition and reparation from his own countrymen had sunk. Mussato himself, though he does not mention his coronation in his history, constantly reverts to it with obvious complacency in his poems, and it is from them that the details given above are taken.

It is strange that there should be any doubt or difficulty in fixing the date of an event which excited so much attention. But so it is. In our account we have assumed the date of December, 1314, which is the more generally accepted and, from most points of view, the more probable. Ferreto expressly states that when Mussato was a prisoner in Vicenza he had not yet written the *Ecerinis* or received the poetic crown.¹ It is true that he lowers the value of his own testimony by adding that Mussato did not make public his tragedy or his *Historia Augusta* until after he had received the crown, a statement which we know to be false from Mussato's repeated references to these two works as con-

¹ *Ferreti Vicentini Historia*, VI., in Muratori, *Rer. Italic. Script.*, IX., 1145: "Nondum enim ille lauro hederaque virenti sub Poetæ titulo decoratus coronam attulerat; nec dum etiam Historia illi edita, Ezerinique Tragedia, quam postea jam Poeta vocatus in propatulo edidit."

stituting the grounds on which he received the honour. In the matter of the coronation, however, Ferreto can hardly have made a mistake; and we have the evidence likewise of Mussato's contemporary and traducer, Giovanni da Naone, that it took place at the beginning of the peace between Cane della Scala and the Paduans.¹ We may suppose, then, that Ferreto knew from his intercourse with Mussato during his captivity in Vicenza that the *Eccerinis* was not then written, and, since his coronation took place within a few weeks of his return, imagined that it had preceded the composition of the tragedy. But the *Eccerinis* is not a long poem, and literary history records many more amazing feats than the composition of such a work—monument of literary industry and elaboration though it be—within a period of a few weeks.²

The *Eccerinis* was the swan-song of Paduan republican liberty. Within a year or two of its publication a

¹ Zardo, p. 368; Padrin, p. xiv.

² A document in the *Archivio dell' Università di Padova* (published by Padrin, *op. cit.*, p. x.) shows that on December 2nd, 1315, a congregation of the guild of *Judices* met in the Palace of the Commune, *super facto honoris conferendi domino Albertino Muxato*, and that Rolando da Piazzola moved and carried a resolution that on the next morning the Tribunes (*Gastaldiones*) and judges should go to Mussato's house and escort him in solemn procession to the palace. This apparently refers to the second celebration of these festivities. Mussato and others tell us that the "Saxon Duke Albert" was the Rector of the University, who was associated with the Bishop, Pagano della Torre, in the first coronation. This Saxon Prince Albert was an ecclesiastic, the son of the late Duke Albert II. of Saxony, and was Rector of the University in 1314. See Facciolati, *Festi Gymnasii Patavini* (Padua, 1758), I., p. xv., and Tiraboschi, *Tom. V.*, Part I. (p. 95 in Milanese edition, 1823). This would fix 1314 as the date of the coronation with certainty, had we reason for supposing that Albert's term of office was confined to that year. If, with some authorities, we regard Rolando's resolution as referring to the first celebration, and suppose that the future celebrations took place on Christmas day, we shall have to suppose that Albert's term of office extended at least over 1315.

Bolognese, of the name of Guizzardo, who professed the arts of the Trivium, presumably at Padua,¹ wrote an elaborate commentary upon it, and in 1317, when clouds were again gathering on the horizon, another scholar, Castellano, made this commentary the basis of a still more elaborate treatise of his own.² No doubt it was intended to appear on occasion of the annual Mussato celebration, but it ends with the ominous words: "*Dum comentator hoc opus finiret, circa horam matutinam anni millesimi iij^o xviij^o die vigesima prima mensis Decembris traditum est per seditionem castrum Montis Silicis Cani Grandi de la Scala.*" A few days after Monselice thus fell into Can Grande's hands, Mussato had withdrawn into voluntary exile; and the annual honours decreed to him were never again renewed, for the Republic herself, save in name only, had ceased to exist, and a poem with the avowed patriotic aims of the *Eccerinis* could no longer be tolerated by the new prince of Padua.

But to place these events in their true light we must return to the thread of the history. We have conducted Mussato to the culminating point of his life, and from this point onward his personality will fall into the background. But, on the other hand, the events to which we have to call attention will in many cases illustrate the allusions in Del Virgilio's poems more directly than much of what we have hitherto recorded.

¹ We know from a short poem of Mussato's that he once lent this Guizzardo a Vergil, a dear companion in his exile and in his home.

² The joint work is published in Padrin's edition of the *Eccerinis*. No one who wishes to understand Dante's Epistle to Can Grande can afford to neglect it.

VIII.

The peace of 1314 lasted only till 1317. In alliance with Passerino Bonaccorsi, the upstart Ghibelline tyrant of Mantua, Can Grande turned his attentions and energies to attacking the Guelf cities of Southern Lombardy; and meanwhile a fierce war had been waged in Tuscany. After the sack of Lucca in June, 1314, Uguccone della Faggiuola had reached the culmination of his power and fame. With the imperial banner displayed, he was now preparing to make himself lord of the whole of Tuscany. He opened the campaign by capturing Montecalvi and laying siege to Montecatini, fortresses which the Florentines had occupied after the fall of Lucca, and he closely blockaded Pistoia with his Germans and Ghibellines. An attempt to capture the latter city by treachery, in December, 1314, only just missed success, and the plight of the besieged Guelfs in Montecatini became desperate. In answer to the appeal of the Florentines for aid, Robert had sent his younger brother, the Duke of Gravina, Messer Piero, a mere lad, whose beauty and gracious ways so captivated the citizens that the whole Signoria was placed in his hands, and he would probably have been offered the life-lordship of Florence had he lived. But things growing more serious, and the danger pressing, an older and more experienced captain was demanded in all haste from the King; and against Robert's better judgment, the Prince Filippo of Tarento, another of the royal brothers, older than Piero, but more headstrong than wise and exceedingly unfortunate in war, came to Florence in July, 1315, with his son Carlo and a strong troop of Angevin cavalry. There was much

parade of chivalry, much gallantry with the fair ladies of Florence, but very little real union and still less military discipline.

Reinforced by auxiliaries from all the Guelf cities of central Italy, the royal army advanced into the valley of the Nievole to the relief of the beleaguered castle. They largely outnumbered Uguccione's forces, but martial skill and discipline were on the side of the Ghibellines. For some time the two armies lay facing each other, with the torrent of the Nievole between them. After several small skirmishes had taken place with little result, hearing that the Guelfs were threatening Lucca, and finding that the royal troops had cut off his supplies and were holding the passes by which convoys could reach his camp, Uguccione at length decided to raise the siege. Burning his siege works, he had already commenced his retreat, when the Prince of Tarento, confident in the superior numbers of his army, forced on a battle at daybreak, on August 29th, 1315. With the imperial banner floating over them, Uguccione's forefighters, led by Giovanni Malaspina and Uguccione's own son Francesco, charged the men of Siena and Colle, driving them back upon the Florentine cavalry. But here, led by Messer Piero himself, was the pick of the royal army; Francesco and Malaspina fell, the imperial banner was cut down, and their force was driven back upon the main body. Then, with all his Germans, Uguccione himself fell furiously upon the pursuing Guelfs, and swept them away in headlong rout. So great was their confusion that their archers fired upon their own cavalry. The slaughter was terrible. Prince Carlo of Anjou, son of the Prince of Tarento, fell on the field; with him died one of the Conti Guidi, Don Brasco of Aragon and Caroccio of Calabria, the condottieri of the

Florentines, with many others from every Guelf city and from every one of the great houses of Florence, burghers and magnates alike. Many more were drowned in the swamps of the Guisciana, perishing miserably in the rout without striking a blow. Among these latter was Messer Piero himself, whose body was never found. The commander-in-chief, Prince Filippo of Tarento, saved his own life by ignominious flight. In Florence, in Bologna, in Perugia, in Siena, and in Naples all the population dressed in mourning for their lost citizens.¹

For seven months more Uguccione played the hateful part of tyrant in Pisa and Lucca, himself ruling in the former city, and his son, Neri, in the latter. But in April he fell from that "marvellous glory" of which Boccaccio speaks, and in one day was cast out of both by the indignant population. Castruccio degli Interminelli, whom Uguccione had intended to behead, succeeded him in Lucca, while Gaddo della Gherardesca made himself lord of Pisa; and Uguccione first fled to Modena and Mantua, where Passerino Bonaccorsi held sway, and then entered the service of Can Grande della Scala, under whom his military talents found ample scope.

The Paduans had now, therefore, to contend against the two mightiest warriors and subtlest negotiators in Italy; but they rushed upon their fate by themselves breaking the treaty in May, 1317. A treacherous attempt to occupy Vicenza, of which Can Grande was fully informed,

¹ In this account of the battle we have followed Villani, IX. 70-72, and the *Istorie Pisolesi*. A somewhat different account is given by Mussato himself, by various Lombard chroniclers and by Corio (who gives the glory of the victory to Castruccio). See also our note on *Carmen* I. line 27 for contemporary Guelf verses on the disaster.

failed. Can Grande himself suddenly appeared in the assailed city, and, reinforced at the critical moment by Ugucione, inflicted a signal defeat upon the aggressors. Can Grande was careful not to pursue the flying Paduans beyond the territory of Vicenza, and could therefore appeal to the Venetians, who were the arbitrators between Padua and Vicenza, with a perfectly clear case. When formally absolved of all further obligation, he suddenly crossed the Euganean Hills in December at night with a huge army from Verona and Vicenza, captured Monselice without resistance, gave Este to the flames, and advanced against Padua, which was now in desperate straits. The Paduans were forced to come to terms; and Can Grande, who combined astuteness and a calculating moderation as a statesman with his desperate personal valour as a warrior, was willing to treat. He knew perfectly well that the day of his final conquest of the hostile city was only deferred. The treaty was signed in February, 1318. Monselice, Torre Estense Castelbaldo, and Montagnana were practically to be surrendered to Can Grande, who further insisted upon the return and readmission to honours of the Paduan exiles, some of them traitors of a deep dye and avowedly his own instruments. When the Paduans in hot haste accepted these terms, Maccaruffo—who had led the opposition to the peace party headed by Jacopo da Carrara—fled to Ferrara, while Albertino Mussato (who had been on a fruitless embassy to Bologna, Florence, and Siena to appeal for help) with his brother, the Abbot of Santa Giustina, and many others withdrew into voluntary exile. A short period of tumult and anarchy followed, until, at the end of July, Jacopo da Carrara was solemnly elected lord of Padua, and Rolando da Piazzola placed in his hands the banner of the

Republic.¹ Thus commenced the short-lived dynasty of the Carraresi.

Can Grande had been finding congenial occupation elsewhere. He had been influential in the restoration of Ponzino dei Ponzoni (who had become Ghibelline) to Cremona in April, 1318; and in the following December, at a great council held at Soncino in Lombardy, he was formally elected Captain-General of the league which the Italian Ghibellines were forming to oppose the violent Guelf policy of the Cahorsine Pope John XXII. The council was presided over by Matteo Visconti, the oldest and fiercest of the Ghibelline princes; the resolution was proposed by Passerino and carried unanimously. According to Corio—who gives a full account of the meeting in the fashion of Renaissance historians—the assembled princes were planning to subject all Italy to their power, and, as the meeting broke up, the aged Matteo said to the youthful Cane: “Along with me shalt thou overcome the Guelfs, and with thee will I destroy the Paduans.”²

But in the meanwhile a tremendous struggle by sea and land had commenced for the possession of Genoa between Matteo Visconti and Robert of Naples, and the famous siege had begun which lasted, with a short interval, for five years, and which the learned men of that day considered at least another siege of Troy.³ Both the Milanese tyrant and the Neapolitan king had long been aspiring to add Genoa to their dominions. In November, 1317, through the intrigues of the King, the Guelfs, led by the Fieschi and

¹ Cf. Zanella, p. 417. Minoia, p. 148.

² Corio, *Storia di Milano*, III. 1.

³ See Villani, IX. 118, and *Carmen*, I. 29 and note.

Grimaldi, expelled the Dorias, Spinolas, and other Ghibellines. The exiles, who still held much of the Riviera, appealed to Matteo Visconti, and he promptly sent a large army of Lombards stiffened with German mercenaries under his son Marco, who at the end of March, 1318, laid siege to Genoa, and conquered almost all the Riviera with Savona. By June the suburbs and surrounding heights had been taken and the blockade was being closely pressed by sea and land, when Robert of Naples, at the summons of the besieged, appeared off the harbour with a mighty fleet and entered the city on July 21st. The magistrates and Podestà in solemn parliament renounced their office and all jurisdiction, and with the eager consent of the people made over the city to the Pope and King Robert for ten years. Undismayed, the Ghibellines sought new allies and continued the siege with doubled force and energy. All the summer and winter the King was kept closely blockaded; he and his barons appeared on the walls and fought the besiegers hand to hand, though he scornfully refused a challenge from Marco Visconti to decide the whole matter in single combat. In February he suddenly sailed out of the harbour, landed at Sesto, and gained a decisive victory on land and among the hills, which forced the Visconti and Dorias to raise the siege (February 1319). Hardly had Robert left Genoa to visit the Pope at Avignon, when the Ghibellines under Conrad Doria again drew their lines round the city (July), and for three years, with great deeds of daring by sea and land, the struggle went on, until in 1322 the besieged Guelfs gained the final and decisive victory in a comparatively small action.

This siege merely concerns us as an event which Dante's adviser assured him was a much fitter subject for his

muse than the world beyond the grave. We must now return to Padua.

Jacopo da Carrara had not turned out to be the passive instrument in Can Grande's hands which the latter had expected. He definitely refused to convert the voluntary withdrawal of Mussato and the rest into a formal banishment, and after a time recalled them. In the autumn of 1319 Mussato was again sent on a mission to Bologna, Florence, and Siena as in 1317; for Can Grande della Scala, dissatisfied with the state of things at Padua, was again preparing to besiege her. This is the visit to Bologna referred to, as we shall see, by Del Virgilio; and it was on his way to Florence that Mussato had the fever and the dream of the other world described in one of his own poems.¹

¹ *Somnium in ægritudine apud Florentiam.* This poem describes how the author in a delirious sleep found himself transformed into a dove and visited the infernal regions, approached the throne of Pluto and Proserpine, and so forth. An account of it is given by Zardo, pp. 287-290, and Zanella, pp. 418-420, accompanied, of course, by the inevitable speculation as to the relation of the poem to the Divine Comedy. There are, indeed, some more or less striking coincidences of expression and conception:

" Inde ruunt populi sine fine, sine ordine, quotquot
Tempora narrares non mille per annua natos.
More avium veniunt modicarum ut forte cicadae."

Cf. Dante, *Inf.*, III. 56, 57; V. 40-45.

"Stat semper resonans imber, nec lumina sursum
Ulla micant."

Inf., VI. 7-12; III. 23, etc.

It does indeed seem certain from Del Virgilio's epistle (our *Carmen I.*) and Dante's answer (*Carmen II.*) that Mussato might have been acquainted with the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* in 1319, the date of the *Somnium*; but the influence of Dante, if it is to be traced at all, is sporadic and incidental, whereas that of Ovid, Lucan, and Virgil, and the cruder representations of the popular theology are intimate and pervading. If Mussato really was acquainted with the *Inferno*, the relative influence exerted on an undoubtedly poetic imagination by Dante and by the Latin classics respec-

No great result was achieved by Mussato's negotiations, and the deplorable state of Padua is eloquently portrayed in Del Virgilio's poem to Mussato.¹ Reduced to the last extremity, Jacopo da Carrara turned to the Count of Gorizia, who had hitherto been Can Grande's ally and who was now in possession of Treviso, and offered to surrender Padua to him as the representative of Frederick of Austria. After protracted negotiations, during which Can Grande still more or less maintained the blockade, the Count of Gorizia and Ulrich von Waldsee entered Padua on August 25th, 1320; and the next day a great battle took place before the walls, in which Can Grande was completely defeated and, himself wounded, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his pursuers. Shortly before the battle Can Grande had lost his most formidable captain; Ugucione della Faggiuola had died in the Veronese camp.²

tively is strangely provocative of reflection. It is interesting from this point of view to consult a passage in Mussato's *Epistola IX.*, in which is found one of his numerous repudiations of any lofty ambition to rival the classics. He does not claim, he says, to be the exponent of infernal mysteries :

"Nec subeo terras, ut opaci scruter Averni
Intima, juratæ stagna vel atra Stygis.
Non nimis infernos delector visere manes,
Unde citus non sic posse redire putem.
Digna Jovis proles nec sum Tyrinthus ille,
Mactaret vigilem nec mea clava canem.
Nec velut Æneas ulla comitante Sybilla
Tutus ab Elysiis credo redire locis.
Stat nobis semper facilis descensus ad ima,
Inde pedem tamen est posse redire labor.
Infera Threicius placavit Numina Vates,
Perdidit Eurydicem nec minus ille suam."

In this passage (p. 57 of the Poems in the Venetian edition) we observe that Virgil holds the undisputed field as the poet of the journey to Hell. We have, however, no means of determining the date of this poem.

¹ See *Carmen VI.* 116-128.

² Villani, IX. 121; Fra Bartolommeo da Ferrara, *Libro del Polistore*, in Muratori, XXIV. 730. He was not killed in action.

IX.

Peace was concluded at the end of October, and Padua and the House of Carrara remained for a while under the protection of the Austrian, to whom in the following July Albertino Mussato was sent with other ambassadors, with the result that Frederick appointed his own brother, the Duke of Carinthia, to be his vicar in Padua and to defend the Paduan territory from Can Grande. But the exiles continued their raids, and Can Grande showed no signs of abating his pretensions. In the summer of 1324, secretly invited by the Paduans, the Duke of Carinthia came to Padua with a large army, ravaged all the country round, made an abortive attack upon Monselice, and finally, having made a truce with Can Grande, returned to Carinthia, after having inflicted horrible sufferings upon the Paduans and done no harm to their enemies. In this year, when Padua "suffered not less from friends than from foes," a certain Guelf knight from Cesena, Messer Rinaldo dei Cinci, was Podestà of Padua. He appears to have struck up a friendship with Mussato, and we shall meet him again, masquerading in pastoral dress, in Del Virgilio's chief poem.¹

On November 22nd, 1324, Jacopo da Carrara, first Lord of Padua, died, and was succeeded by his nephew Marsilio. At the opening of the following year Can Grande renewed hostilities with Padua and Treviso. The Paduans sent Albertino Mussato and Pietro Compagnola as ambassadors

¹ See *Historia Cortusiorum*, III. 4 (Muratori, XII. 833) and *Carmen* VI. of present work.

to Louis of Bavaria, who brought about a truce, which the two announced to the Paduans on June 6th.

These had been years of peace and honour for Mussato, during which, amongst his other literary occupations, he wrote an account of the siege of Padua in Latin hexameters. He did so at the request of the Brotherhood of Notaries, who told him very frankly that he must not wear his laurel crown, accept his annual festival and presents, and do nothing for them. If he was a poet, let him write poetry, and poetry too, not of the elaborate character of the *Ecerinis*, which no one but scholars could understand, nor prose in successful imitation of Livy, which the like of them could not read, but some good honest poetry of the sort to amuse and edify plain folk, telling, for instance, of Can Grande's siege of Padua. It is highly amusing to see Mussato and Dante attacked from opposite sides, the one urged by a professor of poetry to drop his vulgar Italian (*Carmen I.*), the other urged by a fraternity of clerks to drop his high-faluting imitations of Seneca and Livy,—the critics all agreeing that the proper course for a poet to take is to write an account of one of the memorable sieges of his own day in straightforward Latin hexameters.¹

In such occupations and in the service of his city, Mussato had spent his years, feeling that he had exhausted the experience and fathomed the vicissitudes of life, till in 1325, on his return from this embassy to Louis of Bavaria, new complications arose. The families of Dente (with whom Mussato was connected by marriage) and

¹ This poem now appears as Books IX.-XI. of the *Post Henricum*, but it is really an independent poem, and forms no part of the more complete version of the history as it exists in MS.

Carrara had been the closest of allies, but in this year a disreputable love affair caused a rupture between Ubertino da Carrara and Guglielmo Dente. On June 17th Ubertino and his ruffianly ally, Tartaro da Lendinara, murdered Guglielmo Dente, and were in consequence banished from the city by the Podestà, Pollione de' Beccadelli of Bologna and their houses were sacked. Marsilio apparently consented to their punishment, and dissuaded them from having recourse to Can Grande. Paolo Dente, the brother of the murdered man, was naturally unsatisfied, and vowed vengeance upon the whole house of Carrara.¹ Mussato, who had just returned from his embassy to Louis, had by his influence prevented a popular rising and had restrained Paolo Dente from having recourse to arms. Sent now again on a mission to Innspruck with his former colleague, to lay the claims of the city, in opposition to Can Grande, before the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, he solemnly warned Marsilio da Carrara to beware of Paolo Dente—a warning which Marsilio treated with contempt.² The conspiracy came to a head in September, and the adherents of the Denti attempted to seize the city, with shouts of "Death to all the traitors of Carrara." They were joined by the Podestà and his forces, and they were favoured by the German garrison, who made a show of neutrality. Nevertheless, after a desperate struggle, victory remained with the Carraresi. Ubertino and Tartaro returned to Padua. The Podestà, with most of his *famiglia* or staff, was foully murdered. When order was restored the

¹ The story of this civil war between the houses of Carrara and Dente is told in the *Historia Cortusiorum*, III. 6.

² *Post Henricum*, XII. Mussato states this in an interview with Marsilio, when the latter visited him at Chioggia.

inevitable black list was drawn up of names to be exiled. Mussato's son Vitaliano and his brother Gualpertino had been implicated in the disturbances. Mussato himself was returning from his embassy at Innspruck victoriously, after conquering Cane and his legates, and had reached Vicenza; but notwithstanding this the doom of exile was pronounced on him, as well as on his brother and son. This condemnation during his absence on an embassy adds one more to the many striking parallels between Mussato and Dante.

The rest of Mussato's story may be told in brief words. He withdrew to Chioggia and continued his literary work in bereavement and disappointment, and with a touch of bitterness which we have not traced in him before. It was under these circumstances that the twelfth book of his *De Gestis Italicorum post Henricum* was written. Mabilia, his *conjux carissima*, was living when the sentence of exile fell upon him, but we know not whether she joined him; his son Vitaliano had bitterly disappointed and, as he held, disgraced him; he was robbed not only of his public position but of his private means. In the early days of Mussato's exile, Marsilio da Carrara, when on a visit to Venice, had sought an interview with him at Chioggia, and had been profuse in expressions of esteem and in promises of aid; but nothing came of them. In his declining years the dread of hunger that he had known in his youth rose once more before him. At last in 1328, when, after a ghastly period of license and oppression, Marsilio da Carrara, unable to keep his hold upon Padua, had deliberately betrayed the city to Can Grande and was ruling it under him as his vicar, Mussato supposed that a broken old man would be allowed to return and end his years in the city he had so loved. Trusting, as he said, in the justice of Can

Grande and in Marsilio's friendship, he entered Padua and formally notified his return to Can Grande and Marsilio. After keeping him for a while in suspense, they coldly recommended him instantly to return to Chioggia; and Marsilio added a private message to the effect that he knew that Mussato, in a work which he was writing, had represented him, Marsilio, as a traitor. Mussato's answer was worthy of himself: "Let not Marsilio imagine or fear that I have set down in my writings aught save the truth. The acts have been transmitted to posterity as they were, according to which it will adjudge praise or blame; Mussato is a witness, not the judge."¹

With this Mussato withdrew once more to Chioggia, where he died on the last day of May, 1329. The repentance of Padua was swifter than that of Florence. No sooner was her great citizen dead than she desired to honour his remains. Mussato's body was transferred from Chioggia to Padua, where it was buried in Santa Giustina. Two months later, on July 22nd, Can Grande himself died at Treviso, which he had just added, like Padua, to his dominions; and he was laid to rest at Verona in that noble Gothic monument from which his knightly figure on his war horse seems still to watch over the city.

¹ *Post Henricum*, XII.

DANTE ALIGHIERI.

Libertà va cercando.

I.

TURNING now from Albertino Mussato to that other hero of Del Virgilio's enthusiastic admiration, Dante Alighieri, we must for a little retrace our steps.

It is needless to repeat, save in the barest outline, the story of Dante's share in Henry of Luxemburg's enterprise. The return of the "venerated Tarpeian standards" had filled the exiled Florentine with measureless delight, inspired him with unbounded hope and exultancy. The famous Epistle to the Princes and Peoples of Italy, undated and with no hint of the writer's whereabouts, probably written in the latter part of 1310, is an ardent expression of his enthusiasm and confidence. Sometime before the end of the following March, 1311, he had been admitted to the royal and imperial presence, probably at Milan, and had paid his homage, as a famous passage of his letter to the Emperor tells us.¹ Then the Florentine opposition and the imperial hesitation clouded the political horizon, and suddenly the

¹ *Epist.* VII. 2 (Oxford Dante).

poet's voice is heard from the Casentino in those two terrible Epistles, dated March 31st and April 16th, 1311, to "the most wicked Florentines within" and to "the most sacred triumphant one and only lord, Lord Henry, by divine providence King of the Romans, ever Augustus."

It is by no means certain what had brought Dante to the Casentino, or in what castle he addressed these letters, from the "confines of Tuscany under the source of Arno" and from "Tuscany under the source of the Arno."¹ It is not improbable that he had been intrusted with a mission from the Emperor himself to the Conti Guidi, or had at least accompanied some such embassy; Henry had been sending legations far and wide to seek aid for the imperial cause, and they were sometimes accompanied by Florentines. The Empress Margaret had written directly to the Countess Gherardesca of Battifolle, apparently to win her husband's support for the Emperor, and it is, perhaps, not improbable that Dante himself was the bearer of the august lady's epistle. Be that as it may, it is with thoughts of the divine poet that his student wanders round these castles of the Conti Guidi to-day, Poppi, Romena, Porciano, or lingers by

Li ruscelletti che dei verdi colli
del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno,
facendo i lor canali freddi e molli.²

Count Guido Novello of Battifolle, who held the castle of Poppi, was playing a double part, but ultimately threw in his lot with the Guelfs; Witte and others have supposed that it was in Poppi that Dante was now staying, and that the courtly answers of the Countess to the Empress (one of

¹ *Epistles* VI. and VII.

² *Inf.* XXX. 64-66.

which is dated May 16th, 1311) were composed by him. Count Aghinulfo of Romena—not named by the poet, but held up to eternal infamy with his brothers Guido and Alessandro in *Malebolge*¹—had armed in behalf of the Emperor, and was later to accompany him to Rome. The Counts of Porciano were hedging, though in the following October they courteously and hospitably received the imperial ambassadors, Pandolfo Savelli and the Bishop Nicholas of Butranto, who had been maltreated and refused admittance into their city by the Florentines. They swore allegiance to the Emperor, and all save one brother, Tancredi, broke their oaths.² On the whole tradition, and possibly a more literal interpretation of the “confines of Tuscany under the source of Arno,” point to Porciano rather than to Poppi or Romena. It is even said that the Florentine Signoria, in consequence of the letters, demanded Dante’s extradition from the Count of Porciano, and that the commissaries of the Republic actually arrived at the castle with the intention of seizing him. Tancredi gave his guest or prisoner (for there is a curious tradition that the poet was temporarily imprisoned here) timely warning, and

¹ *Inf.* XXX. 77

² See Witte, *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. II., Heilbronn, 1879 (Essay XI. *Dante und die Grafen Guidi*); Wicksteed & Lawrence, *Essays on Dante by Dr. Karl Witte*, London, 1898 (Essay VII., “Dante and the Conti Guidi”). We know from Boccaccio that the Count Salvatico, the son-in-law of Buonconte da Montefeltro and nephew of the great Guido Guerra (*Inf.* XVI. 37-39), who was head of the fourth branch of the Conti Guidi and Count of Dovadola, entertained Dante during his exile; but it seems to have been on an earlier visit to the Casentino, perhaps that during which he wrote the “mountain song” (*Canz.* XI., Oxford edition). Guido Salvatico, like Guido Novello of Battifolle, adhered to the Guelphs and aided Florence during the siege. Cf. also L. Eckenstein, *The Guidi and their relations with Florence*: III. *The Sons and Grandsons of Guido Vecchio* (in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1899).

Dante is said to have actually encountered the commissaries, who did not know him by sight, at the foot of the path that descends from Porciano to Stia, and to have assured them, in answer to their questions, that "Dante Alighieri was still in Porciano, when I was there."¹

This is probably a mere fable or *novella*. It is certain, however, that on September 2nd, 1311, the Signoria, together with the twelve *Savi* appointed for the purpose, drew up the famous *Riforma*, henceforth known by the name of Baldo d'Aguglione, who was then one of the priors and, as a skilled jurist devoted to the Neri, had the chief part in its framing and promulgation. There is a long list of names of the proscribed whom this decree excludes from amnesty; and among them, under the heading *De Sextu Porte Sancti Petri*, we read: "*Omnes de domo de Abbatibus, excepto Ciolo*," "*Filii domini Cionis del Bello et Dante Alleghierii*."²

From Genoa the Emperor issued a counter decree on December 24th, proclaiming Florence under the ban of the Holy Roman Empire, and declaring the Florentine exiles under his special protection. At their head was Palmiero Altoviti, whose name had been included with Dante's in the first and second sentences of 1302, and whom Leonardo Bruni erroneously states to have been Dante's colleague in the Priorate. In March and April the Emperor was at Pisa, and in these early days of the spring the Tuscan exiles thronged to visit him there in the

¹ Cf. C. Beni, *Guida illustrata del Casentino*, Florence, 1889, pp. 166, 167.

² Cione del Bello was the brother of Geri del Bello (*Inf.* XXIX. 27) and, therefore, the cousin of Dante's father. These sons of his were named Lapo and Niccolò. The text of the *Riforma* of Baldo d'Aguglione is given in Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, Florence, 1881, Document V.

gardens of the Gambacorti.¹ It is highly probable that Dante, having returned from the Casentino, went with the rest, and that it was here, in Pisa, that a little boy in his eighth year—hereafter to be famous as Francesco Petrarca—saw his great predecessor for the first and only time. So stern and so haggard seemed the exiled preacher of righteousness, that the little lad imagined him to be quite an old man compared to his own father, and preserved this sole recollection of him in after years.² “I never saw him but once,” wrote Petrarch to Boccaccio concerning Dante, “when he was pointed out to me in the early days of my boyhood. He was contemporary with my grandfather and my father, being younger than my grandfather but older than my father, with whom he was banished from their native land on the same day and by the same civil whirlwind. On such occasions great friendships are often contracted between the sharers of griefs; and all the more in their case, as, in addition to similarity of fate, there was a great similarity between them in studies and in genius—save that whereas my father in exile was drawn aside by various cares and anxieties for his family, the other stood firm and persevered the more vehemently in what he had undertaken, neglecting all things, desirous of fame alone. In which I can hardly admire and praise enough the man whom not the injustice of his fellow-

¹ Cf. Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII. ad Arrigo VII.*, Milan, 1899, pp. 429, 441.

² As a matter of fact Ser Petracco, Petrarch's father, was about twelve years Dante's senior. In 1312 he came with his family from Anichia to Pisa, where he stayed seven months, and on the death of the Emperor left Italy for France. Fracassetti argues that this is the only possible occasion on which Petrarch could have seen Dante. See Fracassetti, *Dante e il Petrarca in Dante e il suo Secolo*, Florence, 1865, p. 632.

citizens, nor exile, nor poverty, nor the sting of dissensions, nor the love of his wife, nor affection for his children, could draw back from the path he had once chosen."¹

In spite of Dante's bitter letters, we know that he was not with the imperial army that, after the Roman coronation, lay round the walls of Florence with the dying Cæsar. "Reverence for his fatherland still so far restrained him," writes Leonardo Bruni, who had apparently seen some letter of Dante's own on the subject, "that when the Emperor advanced on Florence, and encamped hard by the gate, he would not accompany him, *as he writes*, although he had instigated him to the advance."² We do not know where the divine poet was in the following summer when the news of his hero's death reached him (August 24th, 1313), nor what became of him in the general disintegration of the imperial party. He may possibly have retired to the convent of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana, described in the famous passage at the close of *Paradiso* XXI., or taken refuge in some other religious house. During these years his steps are lost in darkness, when the *pastor senza legge*, Clement, was no longer endured of God in the sacred office, and the *mal di Francia*, Philip, followed him into the other world, slain by the wild boar's stroke.³ But, out of the darkness, in the latter part of 1314, Dante's voice is heard with

¹*Epistolarum de Rebus Familiaribus*, Lib. XXI., Ep. 15. Dino Compagni (*Cronica*, Book II.) names "Ser Petrarca di Ser Parenzo dall' Ancisa, notaio alle riformazioni," among the White Guelphs exiled in April, 1302. This is evidently Petrarch's father; he is not noticed in the *Riforma* of Baldo d'Aguglione; but he had acted as the representative of his party at a peace-meeting held by the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato in 1304 at Santa Maria Novella.

²*Vita di Dante*.

³Clement died in April, 1314: cf. *Inf.* XIX. 82-84, *Par.* XXX. 145-148. Philip died in November, 1314: *Par.* XIX. 120.

no uncertain sound in the Epistle to the Italian Cardinals,¹ crying aloud with the grief of Jeremiah for widowed and desolate Rome.

Nowhere in his writings does Dante make the slightest reference to Uguccone della Faggiuola and his exploits. The theory, first propounded by Carlo Troya, that he was the original Veltro of *Inferno* I, is now universally rejected. Boccaccio, indeed, states that the *Inferno* was dedicated to Uguccone, "who was then in Tuscany, Lord of Pisa, in marvellous glory," though he is evidently doubtful about it, and apparently based his statement upon the letter of Fra Ilario, which, although existing in Boccaccio's own handwriting, is now almost universally regarded as a falsification. We know from the *Purgatorio* that Dante visited Lucca.² His visit is usually assigned to this epoch, while the city lay under the heavy hands of Uguccone's sons (first Francesco and then Neri), that is, between June 14th, 1314, and April 10th, 1316. It is likewise possible that Dante's two sons joined him here. We do not know how far Dante had identified himself with the cause of the Pisan adventurer, nor whether, as Scartazzini suggests,³ Pietro and Jacopo had joined the other Florentine exiles beneath the imperial banner at Montecatini. But it is certain that a new *bando* was issued against Dante in the following October, bidding him with his two sons and others to appear before Ranieri di Zaccaria da Orvieto, royal vicar in the city of Florence and its district, *ad satisfaciendum et securitatem prestandum de eundo et stando ad confinia*. On

¹ *Epist.* VIII., which, in spite of Scartazzini and Kraus, we continue to regard as authentic.

² *Purg.* XXIV. 43-45.

³ *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 132.

their neglecting to appear, they were condemned, in the sentence issued under Ranieri on November 6th, as Ghibellines and rebels, for their contumacy and for having committed and perpetrated *alia et diversa malleficia contra bonum statum Communis Florentie et Partis Guelfe*. They are sentenced to be beheaded, if ever they come into the power of the royal vicar or of the Commune of Florence. "And lest they should glory in their contumacy," so runs this atrocious decree, "we put all and each of them under ban of the city of Florence and district, giving licence to any one to offend all and any one of them in goods and in person, with impunity, according to the form of the statutes of Florence."¹

II.

The following year, 1316, marks a turning point in Dante's life and fortunes. In April Ugucione della Faggiuola, as we have already seen, fell from his "marvellous glory." In June the gates of Florence were finally closed to the exiled poet; and a new asylum was opened to him by the death of Lamberto da Polenta, the Podestà and Guelf despot of Ravenna. In September his hopes for the renovation and purification of the Church, with any possible prospect of the restoration of the Papal Chair to Rome, were dashed to the ground by the election at Lyons of the

¹ The *Bando* of November 6th, 1315, is Document VI. in Del Lungo's *Esilio di Dante*. The first date, of October, follows from Document VIII. (the act of restitution of Dante's goods to his son Jacopo, January 9th, 1343). The *Bando* of November 6th contains only the names of exiles from the Sesto di Porta di San Piero; all of the Portinari, with the exception of Manetto and fourteen others who have given security; all of the Giucchi, with two exceptions; *Dantem Adhegherii et filios*.

Cardinal Jacques d'Euse to the Throne of the Fisherman as Pope John XXII.

Relieved from the pressure of Ugucione and his Ghibelines, the Florentine Guelfs had promptly split into two sections. The one, headed by Pino della Tosa, favoured the government of King Robert, whose vicar, the Conte Novello d'Andria, held the places of both the Podestà and the Captain. The other, led by Simone della Tosa and the Malagotti, was all-powerful with the populace and had the priorate and public offices in its hands. Having previously sent away the Conte Novello, this latter section in May, 1316, made a ruffian named Lando da Gubbio *bargello*, or head of the police, and shortly after gave him the gonfalone of the Signoria. This Lando, "uomo carnefice e crudele," established a reign of terror in Florence; sitting as judge before the Palace of the Priors, he would send his guards through the city and contado to arrest whoso he would, nobles and popolani, priests and laymen alike, on the charge of being Ghibellines, and then cut them to pieces without a trial. Adding insult to injury, he coined false money, pieces known as *bargellini*. At last, in their despair and indignation, the Florentines decided to appeal again to King Robert. In October the King sent the Count Guido of Battifolle—the same Count Guido who is said to have offered hospitality to Dante at Poppi, and whose wife Gherardesca had corresponded with the Empress Margaret—as his vicar to Florence. The Count drove out the *bargello*, took the administration out of the hands of the party that had appointed him, secured the election of a new Signoria devoted to the party of the King.¹ The Torre

¹ Villani, IX., 76, 79

della Zecca Vecchia, formerly called the Torre Reale, and a portion of the fortifications of Oltrarno still remain as monuments of the Count's vicariate.

Under these circumstances, while Lando da Gubbio ruled, Florence might not seem to offer a very tempting place of abode to exiles. The Signoria thought otherwise, and passed several decrees of amnesty in this year, beginning with June 2nd—amnesties under conditions of payment of fine (with apparently, in some cases at least, a term of imprisonment), and subsequent oblation as penitents to St. John. An exceedingly important document, recently published by Michele Barbi, shows that Dante was practically excluded from this amnesty.¹ For, by a Provision of June 2nd, 1316, not only were all those excluded who had been condemned or outlawed for making war, directly or indirectly, upon the Commune, or for aiding or favouring the Emperor, but also all and each who had been condemned or outlawed for any cause by Cante de' Gabrielli da Gubbio, formerly Podestà of Florence, or his vicar, between November 1st, 1301, and July 1st, 1302; and all and each who, as officers of the Commune of Florence, had been guilty of malversation, or had been condemned or outlawed for barratry committed in any office of the Florentine Commune. It will, therefore, be seen at once that, absolutely false as the accusations against Dante most undoubtedly were, he could not have taken advantage of this amnesty. And this provision seems also to have been applied to the two subsequent amnesties of this same year, September 3rd and December 11th.

And this brings us to one of the most interesting and

¹ In the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. II., fasc. 1, 2.

most disputed questions in the study of Dante. What are we to make of Boccaccio's statement that the poet refused to accept the amnesty? In the face of the ascertained terms of the provision of June 2nd, is it still possible to regard the famous Dantesque epistle, "Amico Fiorentino," as authentic? ¹

Let us first hear Messer Giovanni:

"Our poet, beside the things aforesaid, was of a very lofty and proud disposition, in so much that when a certain friend of his strove, at the instance of his prayers, to bring about his return to Florence (for which he longed to the very utmost, above all else), and could find no other way thereto with those who then had the direction of the Commonwealth in their hands, save only this: that for a certain space he should abide in prison, and thereafter, at some public solemnity, should be presented as an offering, by way of mercy, at our principal church, and should then be free and released from every sentence previously passed upon him; he, deeming that the like of this was fitting

¹ Bartoli was the first to throw doubts upon the authenticity of this document, though merely upon the grounds that it is only found in the Laurentian codex (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. V., Florence, 1884, p. 287). He was followed by Dr. Scartazzini, who began by confessing himself perplexed, and ended by declaring that his doubts were converted into a certainty that the letter was a falsification (*Prolegomeni*, pp. 135, 385). This view has received the support of Dr. F. X. Kraus (*Dante: sein Leben und sein Werk*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 90, 91). The most serious piece of evidence against this whole episode in Dante's life—the actual text of the Provision of June 2nd, 1316—appears to have been unknown to these three critics. On its first publication several Italian scholars—notably Professor E. Rostagno (*Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. II., fasc. 4)—were disposed to regard the question as finally closed. English-speaking scholars, with the exception of Mr. C. E. Norton, for the most part still accept the letter as genuine. In Italy its authenticity has been eloquently defended by the distinguished poet and scholar, Guido Mazzoni (*Bullettino*, N.S. V., fasc. 6, 7).

and was in use only for men abject and infamous, and for no other, therefore, for all his supreme longing, chose rather to abide in exile than to return by such a path to his home. Oh worthy and magnanimous scorn, how didst thou play the man in repressing the ardent longing for return by a path less than worthy of one that was nurtured in the bosom of philosophy."¹

This epistle is found in the Laurentian MS., which, thanks to the researches of M. Hauvette, is now admitted to be from Boccaccio's own hand.² It is, therefore, absolutely certain that the theory that it is a forgery on the basis of Boccaccio's narrative is untenable, and that, whether genuine or not, unless Boccaccio himself composed it, it was one of the sources—if not the sole source of this section of his work. As the discussion is of great importance for the story of Dante's closing years, we quote the letter in full, familiar though it be :

"With grateful mind and diligent observation did I perceive from your letter, received with due reverence and affection, how deeply you have my recall at heart. And thereby you have bound me under the closer obligation, because it so rarely chanceth to exiles to find friends. But I go on to answer the contents of it. And if my answer be not such as, perchance, the pusillanimity of certain might seek, I would beg you, in all affection, to consider it in your judgment before you pronounce upon it.

"This, then, is what hath been indicated to me by the letters of your nephew and mine, and many other friends,

¹ *Vita*, § 12.

² H. Hauvette, *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, Rome, 1894 (*École Française : Mélanges. Année 14*).

as to the decree recently passed in Florence concerning the recall of the exiles: that if I will consent to pay a certain sum of money, and be willing to bear the brand of oblation, I may be absolved and may return at once. Wherein are two things worthy to be met with scorn, unadvisedly pressed upon me, O Father! I say pressed unadvisedly by those who have unfolded them; for your letter, more discreetly and advisedly drawn up, contained no hint of them.

"Is this the glorious recall whereby Dante Alighieri is summoned back to his fatherland, after suffering well nigh fifteen years of exile? Is this the reward of innocence manifest to all the world, of unbroken sweat and toil in study? Far be it from the familiar of philosophy, this random self-humiliation of a soul of clay—to allow himself to be offered as a prisoner, after the fashion of some Ciolo or other infamous wretch! Far be it from the preacher of justice, when he hath suffered a wrong, to pay his coin to them that inflicted it as though they had deserved well of him.

"Not this the way of return to my country, O Father; but if another way hereafter be found by you or any other, which hurts not Dante's fair fame and honour, that will I accept with no lagging feet. If no such path leads back to Florence, then will I never enter Florence more. What then? May I not gaze upon the mirror of the sun and stars, wherever I may be? Can I not ponder on the sweetest truths wherever I may be beneath the heaven, but I must first make me inglorious and shameful before the People and the City of Florence? Nor shall I lack for bread."¹

¹ *Epistle IX.*

With the exception of the problematical letter to Moroello Malaspina, this is practically the only remnant that is left to us of Dante's personal correspondence, as distinguished from a political pamphlet or a philosophical treatise. It is apparently addressed to a priest—who has a common nephew with Dante, or at least with the writer of the epistle, and is therefore supposed by its defenders to be one of the Poggi or Riccomanni (the families into which Dante's two step-sisters had married) or perhaps a brother of Pietra Brunacci, the wife of Francesco Alighieri. There is, as far as we can see, no reason to prevent the good father having been a Donati. But if we accept the first hypothesis and suppose that this nephew was Andrea Poggi, whom Boccaccio afterwards knew and from whom he got information, it is easy to see how the letter came into Boccaccio's possession and how he alone may have heard the story. The Ciolo is probably that Ciolo degli Abbati, who had been admitted to favour in the *Riforma* of Baldo d' Aguglione.¹ The Abbati, like the Alighieri, were of the Sesto di Porta San Piero, and it has been plausibly suggested that Dante's mother may have been a daughter of the House of the Abbati.² A special point would thus be given to the poet's bitter and contemptuous reference to Ciolo, if the mean-spirited turncoat who had "ratted" was a relation or connection of both the writer and the recipient of the letter.

Certainly the terms of the Provision make it clear that,

¹ That is unless, with Witte and Bartoli, we read "scioli" instead of "Cioli" in the third paragraph of the letter.

² The suggestion was first made by L. Passerini in *Della Famiglia di Dante in Dante e il suo Secolo*. But see Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della Biografia di Dante*, Turin, 1896, pp. 39-41.

under ordinary circumstances, Dante could not have availed himself of the amnesty, and that it is impossible that it was formally offered to him. Incidentally, however, it may be noted that the third amnesty of this year (that of December 11th) was granted after the restoration of the party led by Pino della Tosa, and after the reins of power had passed into the hands of Count Guido of Battifolle. With the latter Dante is said to have been on terms of intimacy a few years before at Poppi, and it was the former who, after the poet's death, defended his tomb and memory against the Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto.¹ His friends may conceivably have hoped for his recall under their regime.

The more plausible explanation is that those persons, who had been striving to bring about Dante's recall, were merely sounding him as to his willingness to accept, if the pardon could be extended to him; and perhaps he himself was already answering before the Provision of June 2nd was made known. If some such explanation as this be accepted, and we regard the whole thing as having been practically private and between members of Dante's family or persons connected with it, the silence of Villani and the rest is simple enough, while it is perfectly easy to see how Boccaccio may have got a somewhat garbled account of the affair from Andrea Poggi, and afterwards exaggerated it as a distinct offer of grace from the Government. It was probably from Andrea Poggi that Boccaccio obtained the letter. Unless we accept the highly improbable hypothesis that the letter with the whole episode was a mere literary exercise of Boccaccio's own, it is hard to see what object a forger at that time could have had. What forger, too,

¹ Boccaccio, *Vita* § 16.

would have unearthed the utterly insignificant name of Ciolo from the *Riforma* of Baldo d' Aguglione? What forger would have ventured upon that wonderfully Dantesque touch at the close, where the exile steps down from the contemplation of the sun and stars, from the pondering on the sweetest truths, to the daily needs of his hard lot? *Quippe nec panis deficiet.*¹

III.

Either impelled by the fall of Ugucione and the consequent need of finding a new refuge, or already sick of the perpetual clash of arms that rang through Tuscany under his regime, it was probably about this time that Dante turned once more to that great Lombard city where he had found his *primo rifugio e primo ostello*. It was most likely during the brief epoch of peace between Verona and Padua, which we have seen to have lasted from October, 1314, to the summer of 1317, that he again crossed the Apennines and came to the court of Can Grande della Scala. "The illustrious praise of your munificence," so opens the Epistle to Can Grande, "which vigilant fame spreads abroad as she flies, affects diverse men diversely, so that it lifteth up some into the hope of their prosperity, casteth down others into the terror of extermination. This renown indeed, far surpassing the deeds of modern men, I formerly considered excessive, as going beyond the bounds of truth. But lest a long uncertainty should too much keep me in suspense, even as the Queen of the South sought Jerusalem or Pallas sought Helicon, so did I seek Verona to examine with my

¹ Cf. Guido Massoni, *op. cit.*

own eyes the things that I had heard. And there I saw your splendours, I saw too and touched your benefits; and whereas I had formerly suspected an excess in what was said, so afterwards I knew that the facts themselves were greater. Whereby it came to pass that as, from the hearing alone, I had first been your well-wisher, with a certain submission of soul, so from the first sight of you I became your most devoted friend.”¹

The boy whom Dante had first seen some twelve years before, at the court of his famous brother Bartolommeo, the *gran lombardo*, and had marked even then as one stamped by the *stella forte* of Mars for notable deeds, had grown into a splendid young warrior, ruthless and yet magnanimous, and already his “deeds munificent” were so known that his very foes were not able to keep silent tongues about them.² It was from this second visit that the friendship dates which the poet has so marvellously repaid in the *Paradiso*. Already he dreamed of mighty deeds to be achieved by the young hero: *Cose incredibili a quei che sien presente*. Had the deliverer of Italy at last arisen, who should perchance catch the sceptre which had fallen from the grasp of the *alto Arrigo*?

The actual epoch of this second visit of Dante to Verona is, in the main, a matter of conjecture and of inference. We are inclined, on the whole, to place it in 1315 or early in 1316—shortly before or shortly after the fall of Uguccone. It appears from Del Virgilio’s Eclogue to Dante³ that the greater poet did not meet Mussato in Lombardy; but he very possibly visited Vicenza and other places from Verona,

¹ *Epist.* X., § 1.

² See *Paradiso*, XVII., and cf. present work, p. 33.

³ *Carmen* III., line 88.

and Zanella thinks that he may have met the chronicler Ferreto de' Ferreti in the former city.¹ Impelled by restlessness or from his ardent desire to be nearer to that native land which had cast him out, perhaps induced to seek a more peaceful asylum on the renewal of hostilities between Verona and Padua, Dante now turned southwards again and came into Romagna.

In a famous passage of the *Inferno* the soul of the old warrior, Guido da Montefeltro, had questioned the divine poet from out of the flames that torture the counsellors of evil:

Dimmi se i Romagnoli han pace o guerra ;

and the answer paints a lurid picture of Romagna in 1300, with the cities and ruling houses that are connected with the story of Dante and Del Virgilio :

Romagna tua non è, e non fu mai,
senza guerra ne' cor de' suoi tiranni ;
ma 'n palese nessuna or vi lasciai.
Ravenna sta come stata è molti anni ;
l' aquila da Polenta là si cova,
al che Cervia ricopre co' suoi vanni.
La terra che fe' già la lunga prova,
e de' Franceschi sanguinoso mucchio,
sotto le branche verdi si ritrova.
Il Mastin vecchio e il nuovo da Verrucchio,
che fecer di Montagna il mal governo,
là dove soglion, fan de' denti succhio.
Le città di Lamone e di Santerno
conduce il leoncel dal nido bianco,
che muta parte dalla state al verno ;
e quella a cui il Savio bagna il fianco,
così com' ella sie' tra il piano e il monte,
tra tirannia si vive e stato franco.²

¹ *Scritti vari*, p. 103.

² *Inf.*, XXVII. 37-54. The cities referred to are Ravenna and Cervia, ruled in 1300 by Guido Vecchio da Polenta ; Forlì, which endured a long

In the meanwhile a further complication had been added to the already complicated politics of Romagna. "The supreme Pontiff, Clement V.," wrote the compiler of the *Annals of Cesena* under the year 1310, "thinking to humble the pride of the Romagnoles, made over the province of Romagna for a certain time to the illustrious King Robert to be governed."¹ This meant the presence in the province of a royal vicar under the magniloquent title of Comes Roman-diolæ or Count of Romagna (just as in Florence the King had contrived to replace the Captain and the Podestà by a similar officer), backed up by Catalan soldiery who were little better than an organized gang of robbers and cut-throats. These Catalans had made their first appearance in Tuscany at the siege of Pistoia in 1306. With reason does Carlo Martello warn his brother Robert to beware of *l'avara povertà di Catalogna*², for they earned him nothing but hatred and disgrace. The slaying of Corso Donati at Florence in 1308, and the brutal murder of Francesco d' Este at Ferrara in 1312, are but two of their characteristic

siege in 1282 from the French soldiery of Pope Martin IV., who were finally routed with great slaughter by Guido da Montefeltro, and in 1300 was governed by the Ordellaffi, whose arms were a green lion on a yellow field; Rimini, held by the two Malatestas, Malatesta da Verrucchio and his cruel son Malatestino the one-eyed, ferocious Guelph who had murdered the Ghibelline Montagna dei Parcitati in 1295; Faenza and Imola, on the Lamone and Santerno respectively, governed by Maghinardo Pagano da Susinana, whose arms were a blue lion on a white field, and who fought for Guelph or Ghibelline according to circumstances; and Cesena on the Savio, lying between the plain and the mountain, alternating between tyranny and freedom. (See Mr. Paget Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898, and Prof. T. Casini's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, Florence, 1895.)

¹ *Annales Cesenates*, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIV. 1132.

² *Par.*, VIII. 77.

exploits, and the presence of these ruffians in the province soon became a factor with which every one set in authority in any city in Romagna had to reckon.¹ The first of the royal vicars was a gallant Neapolitan gentleman, Niccolò Carracciolo, who came in 1310, and was received with great joy in Cesena and Faenza especially. "All the province freely obeyed him," writes our annalist of Cesena, "and he made many peaces in Romagna." But he was soon recalled by the King, and succeeded by two needy Catalans in succession, Gilberto Santillo and Diego de la Rat. This Messer Diego, *essendo del corpo bellissimo e vie più che grande vagheggiatore*, as Boccaccio puts it, is chiefly famous for his rather unsavoury love affairs while royal maliscalco in Florence in 1308 and 1309; he is immortalized in a novel of Boccaccio's and in a satirical sonnet addressed to Dante by Cecco Angiolieri of Siena.² In 1318 Diego was replaced by Ranieri di Zaccaria of Orvieto, the same who, when royal vicar at Florence in 1315, had sentenced Dante and his sons to death—a point of some importance in connection with the second Dantesque eclogue.³ Ranieri was the last of Robert's vicars in Romagna, and in 1319 Pope John XXII. appointed a man of a very different stamp and character, Aymeric or Aimerico da Castello Lucio, to be Comes Romandiolæ and papal legate. We shall find

¹ Cf. *Carmen* VI., line 172 and note.

² See *Decameron*, VI. 3. Cecco's sonnet has been quaintly mistranslated by Rossetti, who—in common with other writers—supposed that it was an attack upon Dante himself. See Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII. ad Arrigo VII.*, Milan, 1899, pp. 414 and 417 (note). The sonnet contains a warning to the fair ladies of Florence to open their eyes to the real character of this amorous Marshal.

³ See *Carmen* II., 41 note, *Carmen* IV., 75, 76 note.

him playing an important part in the fate of the pastoral personages of Giovanni del Virgilio's chief poem.¹

Dante had now, as Boccaccio puts it, "departed to Romagna, where his last day, that was to put an end to all his toils, awaited him." Of the Emilian cities, Bologna was as usual strenuously Guelf, still a free republic though in the closest relations with the vicars of King Robert and the papal legates. Ferrara lay restlessly under the royal and ecclesiastical yoke, until in 1317 the valiant Marquis Rinaldo d' Este stormed the citadel, put the entire Catalan or Gascon garrison to the sword, and the people joyfully acclaimed the Lords of Este as their sovereigns once more. For a while Forlì had slipped from under the green claws of the lion of the Ordellaffi into the clutches of Gilberto Santillo and his Catalans, who had also seized upon Faenza and Imola; but in 1314 Francesco de' Manfredi raised a revolt in the two latter cities which was successful, and in the following year Cecco degli Ordellaffi (the son of that Scarpetta who had been Dante's host in 1303) secretly entered Forlì concealed in an empty wine-barrel, raised again the standard of the green lion, and expelled the royal troops. As for Rimini, the old mastiff, Malatesta da Ver-ruchio, had died in 1312; but the young mastiff, Malatestino, was using his teeth to fierce purpose. This Malatestino of Rimini is the *tiranno fello*, "that traitor who sees with only one eye," as Dante puts it, or, as the Cesena annalist has it, "Malatestino dei Malatesti, who, seeing with only one eye, looked further than others";² and, in 1313, by the atrocious murder of Guido del Cassero and Angiolello

¹ See introduction to *Carmen VI*. Also line 174 and note.

² *Annales Casenates*, 1133.

da Carignano, the crime foretold to Dante by Piero da Medicina,¹ he had added Fano to Rimini's lordship. So also Cesena's alternations of freedom and tyranny had ended in its falling into the fierce grasp of the Malatesta and being thus, like Fano, temporarily annexed to Rimini in 1314. Malatestino died in 1317, and was succeeded by his brother Pandolfo de' Malatesta,—the half-brother, it will be remembered, of Gianciotto and Paolo, the heroes of that most piteous and famous tragedy eternalized in Canto V. of the *Inferno*, which has found a new exponent in our own days in Mr. Stephen Phillips. Notwithstanding the example of Francesca, another marriage had been made between the houses of Rimini and Ravenna; Malatestino's grandson, Malatestino (the son of Ferrantino, who now ruled Cesena), married Polentesa, the daughter of Guido Novello da Polenta. This younger Malatestino is one of the "supers," so to speak, in Del Virgilio's pastoral drama.²

Ravenna at this time was still nominally a Republic, ruled by two consuls and a Podestà, with a Credenza or council of Savi. In reality the government was in the hand of the head of the family of the Polentani, who—usually under the republican title of Podestà—was absolute lord of the State. Guido Vecchio da Polenta, the father of Dante's Francesca da Rimini, had lived on until 1310; but in the early years of the fourteenth century the real tyrant of Ravenna was his eldest son, Lamberto. Lamberto and his brother, Bernardino, were staunch Guelfs and strenuous captains in the field. In the great struggle for the possession of Ferrara between Venice and the Church after the

¹ *Inf.*, XXVIII. 76-90.

² *Carmen* VI., introduction; also line 72 note. See Genealogical Table of Houses of Polenta and Malatesta in appendix.

death of the Marquis Azzo, Lamberto and Bernardino had led the papal army that captured Ferrara, and had been instrumental in winning the decisive victory over the Venetians on the Po in August, 1309. On the invasion of Henry of Luxemburg they had thrown their swords into the scale for King Robert and the Florentines. Lamberto had joined the Neapolitan forces in Rome that resisted the Emperor's possession of his nominal capital. Bernardino had fought successfully against the imperial army in the Valdarno and elsewhere in Tuscany, and had been elected Podestà of Florence, where he died in April, 1313. The brothers had succeeded in temporarily adding Cesena to their lordship. By his wife Maddalena Malatesta, Bernardino left one son, Ostasio, of whom we shall hear more.

Like his uncles in valour and skill in the field, unlike them in his literary tastes and pacific nature, was the younger Guido—who is eternally linked to Dante's name—Guido Novello, the son of Ostasio di Guido Vecchio. He does not appear to have taken an active part in any of his uncles' Guelf campaigns, though in 1304 he had made an unsuccessful attempt to gain Comacchio from the Marquis of Este. He was ruling Cesena as Podestà in 1314, and hurled back from the walls a large force of Catalans under Gilberto Santillo, King Robert's vicar in Romagna, who had seized upon Forlì. But the city turned against him and fell, as we have already seen, into the hands of Malatestino.

On June 22nd, 1316, Lamberto da Polenta died without legitimate issue, and was succeeded by Guido Novello. Guido was probably elected Podestà of Ravenna immediately, though there is no documentary evidence of his exercising the office until October. Cervia, which had just finally

returned to the Polentani, was similarly governed by his cousin Ostasio. In spite of a fierce pestilence that swept over the town in 1318 and 1319, these were bright years for Ravenna. Guido was a poet of distinction in the vulgar tongue, and a man well skilled in the liberal arts; his rule was peaceful to a degree unusual in that age and almost unprecedented in a city of Romagna. The university was liberally patronized and enlarged; men of culture were encouraged to settle in the city. The dominions of the Polentani were extended. At the beginning of 1319 Comacchio spontaneously yielded itself "to the pacific and tranquil state of the noble and potent knight, Guido Novello da Polenta, Podestà of Ravenna";¹ and the Estensi, who had just been restored to Ferrara, as we have seen, apparently raised no objection. An attempt in 1320 to annex Bagnacavallo—a city in which Guido's wife, the Countess Caterina di Malvicino, had some hereditary rights—failed.

It was under these circumstances that Dante Alighieri sought the protection of the Eagle of Ravenna, at the express invitation of Guido himself. "When it came to his ears," writes Boccaccio, "that Dante, beyond all expectation, was now in Romagna and in such desperate plight, he, who had long time before known his worth by fame, resolved to receive him and do him honour. Nor did he wait to be requested by him to do this, but considering with how great shame men of worth request such favours, with liberal mind and with free proffers, he approached him, requesting from Dante of special grace that which he knew Dante must needs have begged of him, to wit, that it might please him

¹ Quoted by Corrado Ricci, *L'Ultimo Rifugio di Dante Alighieri*, Milan, 1891, p. 36. To Ricci's masterly work anyone professing to write of Dante's closing years must naturally be much indebted.

to abide with him. The two wills, therefore, of him who received and of him who made the request, thus uniting on one same end, Dante, being well pleased by the liberality of the noble cavalier, and on the other side constrained by his necessities, awaited no further invitation but the first, and took his way to Ravenna, where he was honourably received by the lord thereof, who revived his fallen hope by kindly fosterings, and giving him abundantly such things as he needed, kept him with him there for many years, yea, even to the limits of his life.”¹

IV.

The actual date of Dante's arrival at Ravenna—his *ultimo rifugio*, as Corrado Ricci has called it—cannot be definitely fixed. It could not have been before the latter part of 1316, and is now usually placed at 1317 or 1318. Boccaccio tells us that Dante “dwelt many years at Ravenna under the protection of its gracious lord”; but five years is the utmost length of time possible. We have assumed in these pages, as is usually done at the present day, that the poet settled at Ravenna some time after his second visit to the Veronese court, and suggest that he may have been induced to leave Lombardy by the renewal of hostilities between Verona and Padua in 1317. It is, however, quite possible that Guido's gracious invitation reached him in the early days of the former's accession to power, and that the visit to Verona was merely a temporary absence from the city that had now become his home. It is quite certain that Ravenna was his headquarters during the

¹ *Vita*, § 5.

closing years of his life, and he seems to have been in the habit of making excursions to other cities and returning again to Ravenna.

Torno a Ravenna, de lì non mi parto

is a line in the *Acerba* which Cecco d' Ascoli puts into the mouth of Dante, as though from a letter written to himself from the divine poet at this time.¹ There is documentary evidence that Dante's son Pietro and his daughter Beatrice joined their father at Ravenna; and it appears from Boccaccio's narrative that the second son, Jacopo, was there also. It seems certain that Gemma was not reunited to her husband, and that the younger daughter, Antonia, remained in Florence with her mother.² A document of January 4th, 1321, published by Ricci, shows that Pietro Alighieri—*Petrus filius Dantis Aldigerii de Florentia*—was holding two ecclesiastical benefices in Ravenna, and was being prosecuted for not having paid the "procurations" due to the Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto, who came to Italy in 1319 as legate of Pope John XXII. One of these livings—that of San Simone de Muro—was in the gift of Guido's wife, the Countess Caterina, and her cousin Idana, the wife of Aghinulfo da Romena.³

On the whole, it seems probable that Dante was not merely dependent upon the hospitality of Guido da Polenta in whose service he was probably employed on more embassies than the one to Venice of which we have certain knowledge; but that he was making an independent living in the capacity of professor or reader of Vernacular Rhetoric

¹ *Acerba*, Lib. III., cap. 10.

² But cf. note to *Carmen* III., line 45.

³ Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-67, 415-416.

at the Studio or, as we should now say, University of Ravenna. There is a good deal of not quite conclusive evidence to support this view, which has been urged with much erudition by Signor Ricci. Boccaccio distinctly states that, while at Ravenna, Dante "trained many scholars in poetry, especially in the vernacular," and the anonymous commentator on the Eclogues (who wrote in the life-time of Rolando da Piazzola, and was therefore practically Dante's contemporary) gives us some warrant for interpreting the "goats," that Dante and his friend are tending, as their scholars.¹ Shortly after Boccaccio's death, Simone Forestani—il Saviozzo da Siena—in his capitolo on the *Divina Commedia* wrote with reference to Dante's reception at Ravenna:

Qui cominciò di legger Dante in pria
rettorica volgare, e molti aperti
fece di sua poetica armonia.²

A rather dull fifteenth century novella, quoted by Giovanni Papanti, concerning a dispute of doctors and others at the Studio in Ravenna, confirms the tradition that Dante held some kind of lectureship there.³ There are a certain number of documents concerning professors at the Studio of Ravenna under the regime of the Polentani. We hear of a Ugo Ricci, professor of civil law in 1298; a Leone da Verona, reader of grammar and logic in 1304; a Giovanni da Cesena (not, alas, our Giovanni del Virgilio, but Giovanni dal Bando), who taught logic, medicine, philosophy, and astronomy in 1333; and Boccaccio, in his letter to Zanobi della

¹ Boccaccio, *Vita*, § 6; the scholia on *Carmen* III. show that to represent scholars as "goats" was a part of the pastoral machinery.

² In Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d' altri del Secolo XIV.*, Florence, 1862, p. 576.

³ *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, Leghorn, 1873, p. 114.

Strada, implies that he had been invited to occupy a chair there.¹ Although there is no special mention of a professor or reader of *rettorica volgare* at Ravenna, it is quite certain that this was a subject "professed" at the universities of the fourteenth century. At the very time that Dante was living at Ravenna, Giovanni Bonandria seems to have held an analogous chair at Bologna, and he wrote a treatise on the poetic art in the vernacular, the *Brieve Introduzione a Dettare*, which is still extant.² And the works of Antonio da Tempo and Ghidino da Sommacampagna, a little later, show clearly that the art of writing Italian poetry was taken seriously, as a subject that could be taught without any undue extension of university training.³

Now Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is essentially a glorified treatise on Vernacular Rhetoric, and, if we accept Boccaccio's statement that Dante composed it shortly before his death, with the purpose of "giving instruction to whoso would have it, concerning composition in rhyme," the work would be a kind of poetical text-book for the use of Dante's students at Ravenna, perhaps actually the substance of his course of lectures at the University. Giovanni Villani similarly implies that the interruption of the book may have been due to the poet's untimely death. It seems, however,

¹ See Corazzini, *Le lettere edite ed inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, Florence, 1877, p. 36.

² Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82.

³ The most important of these is the treatise in Latin, *De Ritimis Vulgaribus*, composed by Antonio da Tempo in 1332; there are several editions of it, including a modern one edited by G. Grion, Bologna, 1869. Antonio da Tempo was a Paduan citizen and judge, and dedicated his book to Alberto della Scala, the nephew and successor of Can Grande. We have found Antonio's treatise especially valuable for its treatment of the structure and composition of various types of ballate and sonnets—a branch of the subject not reached in the unfinished second book of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

highly probable that the first of the two books of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, the one dealing with the ideal Italian language in which Dante was striving (to adopt Mazzini's telling phrase) "to create a form worthy of representing the national idea," was written not later than 1305; for it contains a striking passage in which the nobility and rectitude of the Emperor Frederick II. and Manfredi are contrasted with the avarice and vileness of Frederick II. of Sicily, Charles II. of Naples, Giovanni of Monferrato and Azzo d' Este. These four princes are classed together, apparently as living, whereas the Marquis Giovanni died in 1305.¹ The unfinished second book, which shows how this ideal Italian language is practically to be applied to the construction of canzoni, and which is the only part of the work to which Boccaccio's words can strictly be referred, stands on a somewhat different footing. The opening sentence appears to indicate that there has been an interval since the completion of the former book, and that Dante is now returning to a work that has been interrupted: *Solicitantes iterum celeritatem ingenii nostri ad calamus frugis operis redeuntis*.² The only thing in the second book that can possibly be taken as an indication of date is a curious passage, cited as an example of style or construction: "The laudable discretion of the Marquis of Este, and his munificence prepared for all, make him to be beloved,"³ of which

¹ *De V. E.*, I. 12. *Quid nunc personat tuba novissimi Federici? quid tintinabulum secundi Karoli? quid cornua Iohannis et Azonis marchionum potentum? quid aliorum magnatum tibia? nisi, Venite, carnifices; Venite, altriplices; Venite, avaritiae sectatores!* See especially F. D' Ovidio, *Saggi Critici*, Naples, 1878, pp. 335-339. Dr. Scartazzini regards this passage as by no means implying that the persons named are living; but he entirely invalidates his arguments by supposing that this "novissimus Federicus" is the Emperor Frederick II. (*Dantologia*, Milan, 1894, p. 296).

² *Ibid.* II. 1.

³ *Ibid.* II. 6.

many interpretations are possible, seeing that the title of Marquis of Este was applied indiscriminately to all the principal members of the House of Este even after their expulsion from Ferrara, and that this may merely be a citation on Dante's part of a phraseology not his own.¹ It is, however, to be noted that, after the restoration of 1317, the bitterly hostile attitude of Pope John XXII. towards the men whom he professed to regard as the usurpers of the rights of the Church in Ferrara had forced the Estensi to adopt a Ghibelline policy and to ally themselves with Can Grande, while keeping on good terms with the Polentani of Ravenna. If, therefore, we could assign this unfinished book to the period of Dante's lecturing at Ravenna, some such compliment to the Marquis Rinaldo or some other of his House would not have been out of place. But, on the other hand, the whole tone of the work appears to us to be conclusive against this late date of composition. Not only do all the lyrics quoted, whether Dante's own or the work of others, seem to belong to an earlier epoch, but there is an absolute silence concerning the *terza rima*, that glorious measure at once epic and lyrical which the divine poet was making peculiarly his own. It is surely inconceivable that, at a time when the *Divina Commedia* was rapidly approaching completion, and had already been in part published, Dante should have declared—as he expressly

¹ Cf. D' Ovidio, *op. cit.*; N. Angeletti, *Cronologia delle opere minori di Dante*, Città di Castello, 1886, pp. 79-99, refers it to Rinaldo d' Este, and takes it as an intended compliment, dating this second book 1319 or 1320. For the reason set forth in the text, we are unable to accept this theory of a late date. We are disposed to take it as a sarcastic thrust at Azzo, either in his lifetime or soon after his death. His "laudable discretion and munificence prepared for all" had lost him Modena and Reggio while he lived, and caused the expulsion of his family from Ferrara when he died.

does here¹—that canzoni, ballate, and sonnets were the only recognized forms of vernacular poetry, and that the other forms employed were illegitimate and irregular.

V.

Dante had probably already published the *Inferno*, and perhaps the greater portion of the *Purgatorio*, before coming to Ravenna—that *terra* of old renown where Francesca had been born :

dove il Po discende
per aver pace co' seguaci sui.

It is noteworthy that the Polentani, far from resenting Dante's introduction of their frail kinswoman into the Hell of the Lovers, were inclined to regard the fifth Canto of the *Inferno* as a decided compliment to their House.² We may, in fact, say that the Italians, with some few exceptions, such as the friends of Branca Doria, who are said to have molested Dante at Genoa, and the Caccianimici, who, as Benvenuto tells us, conceived a great hatred of Dante and sought to avenge their shame upon him, seem from the outset to have taken it in the spirit of those *magni domini* of whom Benvenuto afterwards spoke, who delighted in the book in spite of what the poet said concerning their own ancestors. Neither have we any reason for supposing that the Countess Caterina showed any resentment for Dante's contemptuous reference

¹ *De V. E.*, II. 3.

² Guido Novello himself imitated one of the lines spoken by Francesca to Dante, in a ballata of his own. Guido Novello's poetic remains have been collected by Ricci in an Appendix to the *Ultimo Rifugio di Dante Alighieri*; they consist of sixteen ballate, one madrigal, and one sonnet. Several of them had previously been published under the names of other poets, two ballate having had the honour of being ascribed to Cino da Pistoia (XXVI. and LXVIII. in Carducci's edition).

to her kinsmen, the Counts of Bagnacavallo, in Canto xiv. of the *Purgatorio*.

It is with the closing cantos of the *Purgatorio* and with the whole ineffable cantica of the *Paradiso* that Ravenna is eternally linked. The music of the Pineta has passed into those exquisite *terzine* that fall so restfully upon the ear and upon the heart, when the purging fire has been traversed and the last steps climbed of the mountain that leads to innocence renewed and liberty regained :

Vago già di cercar dentro e dintorno
la divina foresta spessa e viva,
ch' agli occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,
senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,
prendendo la campagna lento lento
su per lo suol che d' ogni parte oliva.
Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento
avere in sè, mi feria per la fronte
non di più colpo, che soave vento ;
per cui le fronde, tremolando pronte,
tutte e quante piegavano alla parte
u' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte ;
non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte ;
ma con piena letizia l' ôre prime,
cantando, ricevièno intra le foglie,
che tenevan bordone alle sue rime,
tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie
per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi,
quand' Eolo Scirocco fuor lasciòglie.¹

"With these verses in our minds," writes Addington Symonds, "while wandering down the grassy aisles, beside the waters of the solitary place, we seem to meet that lady singing as she went, and plucking flower by flower, 'like Proserpine when Ceres lost a daughter, and she lost her spring.' There, too, the vision of the Griffin and the car, of

¹ *Purg.*, XXVIII. 1-21.

singing maidens, and of Beatrice descending to the sound of Benedictus and of falling flowers, her flaming robe and mantle green as grass, and veil of white, and olive crown, all flashed upon the poet's inner eye, and he remembered how he bowed before her when a boy."¹ Dreaming beneath the mosaics in San Vitale that set forth the twofold glory of Justinian, wandering by the mausoleum where Galla Placidia rests with Honorius and Constantius, or passing what was once the sepulchral monument of the mighty Ostrogoth, Theodoric, whose successors had fallen before Belisarius and Narses, Dante may well have heard the wings of the golden eagle, the sacrosanct bird of God and Rome, beating over the course of the world's history, and caught the sound in that great canto of the *Paradiso* that opens with Constantine's desertion and closes with an exile's lament. Pondering in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, where those long lines of white and gold robed saints and virgins move orientwise to Christ and His Mother, he may already in ecstatic alienation have beheld the vast *convento delle bianche stole* in the mystic white Rose of Paradise.

It was now from Ravenna that Dante commenced sending to Can Grande della Scala at Verona the most precious gifts that ever one friend sent to another—the cantos of the *Paradiso* in successive instalments. "It was his wont," writes Boccaccio, "whenever he had done six or eight cantos, more or less, to send them from whatever place he was in, before any other had seen them, to Messer Cane della Scala, whom he held in reverence above all other men; and when he had seen them, he copied them for whoso desired them."²

¹ *Sketches in Italy: Ravenna.*

² *Vita*, § 14. *E poi che da lui eran veduti, ne faceva copia a chi la ne voleva.* We take the subject of *facea* to be Cane.

Striking evidence in confirmation of this statement concerning Dante's literary relations with Can Grande has been brought forward of late years, in the shape of a sonnet by the Venetian poet, Giovanni Quirini, addressed apparently to Can Grande, asking him to publish some cantos of the *Paradiso*—*i be' fioretti di cotal pianta*—which, the writer knows, Dante wished and still wishes to be made known to the world in this fashion :

Io sono un vostro fedel servidore,
 bramoso di veder la gloria santa
 del Paradiso ch' el Poeta canta :
 onde vi prego che di cotal pianta
 mostrar vi piazza i be' fioretti fore,
 chè e' dan fructo degno al suo fattore.
 Lo qual intese—e so ch' intende ancora—
 che di voi prima per lo mondo spanta
 agli altri fosse questa ovra cotanta.¹

It was also, we take it, from Ravenna that Dante sent to Can Grande that magnificent epistle which is at once a tribute of noble gratitude, sincere friendship, and genuine admiration, a dedication of the *Paradiso*, a commentary or at least a guide to future commentators, an *Apologia* to future

¹ First published by Signor S. Morpurgo in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. I., f. 7. See also the preliminary chapter of Mr. W. Warren Vernon's *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, London, 1900, which have reached us as we write. Mr. Vernon observes: "This need not necessarily mean that Dante was still alive, otherwise why did not Quirini write direct to him? The words *so ch' intende ancora* rather point to Quirini's friendly presumption of being himself the safe interpreter of Dante now that Dante is dead. The words imply: 'He intended when he was alive, and my heart tells me that he still has the same intention up there in heaven, that you should be the publisher of his third *Cantica*.' Otherwise the use of the two tenses *intende* and *intese* would be entirely superfluous" (*op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. xxxi.). We are inclined, however, to take it as meaning that Dante is still alive, and that Quirini feels sure that he still intends Can Grande to be the publisher, so to speak, of these new cantos, as he had been of previous instalments.

ages for the poet's own seeming presumption in striving to clothe an ineffable theme in mere mortal language. We entirely agree with the trend of contemporary criticism and unhesitatingly accept the letter as genuine, in spite of the doubts that have been, and still are, heaped upon it from many sides. There are no means of fixing the exact date of this letter. It can hardly be earlier than 1317 or 1318, and the argument adopted by Fraticelli from Dionisi that it could not have been written after August 25th, 1320 (the date of Cane's crushing defeat beneath the walls of Padua), because it still addresses him as *victorious*, can scarcely be taken very seriously. Witte and others have supposed it to be a posthumous work, sent to Can Grande after Dante's death; but, on the whole, we are inclined to think that it was written shortly after Dante's departure from Verona, and that it may well have accompanied the first instalment of the *Paradiso*. It is curious to observe the sudden transition of style, from letter to lecture, where the writer, almost with an air of relief, drops the epistolary form, "the formula of an epistle being completed," and promptly assumes the professorial manner, "taking up the office of a lecturer," with a sonorous and authoritative quotation from Aristotle: "*Sicut dixit Philosophus.*"¹ For the rest, the sections dealing with "the six things to be inquired into in the beginning of any doctrinal work—to wit: subject, agent, form, end, title of book, and branch of philosophy"—are in the strictly orthodox style of the age, and may be paralleled in other works of the time.² It is

¹ *Epist.* X., end of § 4 and beginning of § 5.

² As very notably in the commentary upon the *Eccerinis* of Mussato, of which we have spoken in the first part of these prolegomena, and which was finished, as we have seen, in 1317. The earlier portions (Padrin's

when the writer, after this introduction, comes to the exposition of the letter of the *Paradiso* that we see Dante himself

edition of the *Ecceris*, pp. 78-83), which are apparently due to the Bolognese Guizzardo, are closely analogous in conception, and occasionally almost identical in phraseology, with parts of this epistle. Even as the End of Dante's comedy is "to remove those living in this life from their state of misery and to lead them to the state of felicity," so the final cause or End of Mussato's tragedy is "to instruct contemporaries and posterity to preserve civil governments and to shun tyrannies." This strikes the keynotes of the lives and work of these two men.

Although the Epistle to Can Grande was first definitely quoted as Dante's by Filippo Villani in his commentary upon the first canto of the *Inferno* (published by G. Cugnoni in Passerini's *Opusculi Danteschi*, Città di Castello, 1896), it was apparently known to Boccaccio and, before Boccaccio, to Fra Guido da Pisa. We say "apparently," because the commentary on the *Ecceris* shows that this was the accepted way of writing a commentary, and it would be unsafe to assume without reserve that Boccaccio or Fra Guido had seen Dante's epistle, because they deal with the *Commedia* in almost identical terms. Nevertheless, comparing the reference that Boccaccio in his commentary, *lezione prima*, makes to the *intenzione dell' autore* (as to the title, "incominciano le cantiche della *Commedia* di Dante Alighieri Fiorentino," instead of "incomincia la *Commedia*," with apparent reference to *Epist.* X. 13), with his way in the *Vita* of alluding to Dantesque documents which we are practically certain that he had before him, we are inclined to conclude that this is his fashion of acknowledging the debt. The case is different with Fra Guido da Pisa. His commentary, written before 1333, is still unpublished; it exists in a fine manuscript, probably of the beginning of the Quattrocento, in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 31,918; see also Dr. E. Moore, *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, Cambridge, 1889, pp. 602-604). Although he never actually mentions the letter, Fra Guido incorporates passages of it word for word into his Proem (ff. 30-32 in the MS.), to an extent that puts any mere coincidence out of the question. At other times he modifies or expands. We must quote a characteristic little passage, not directly bearing upon the letter, but which illustrates the attitude of the good Carmelite towards Dante: "No mortal man could be compared to him in the glory of the language. In very truth could he say the word of the Prophet that says, 'God hath given me a learned tongue,' and that other, 'my tongue is the pen of a scribe that writeth swiftly.' For he was the pen of the Holy Spirit, the pen with which the Holy Spirit's self hath written to us swiftly of both the pains of the damned and the glory of the blessed. Yea, through this man the Holy Spirit himself hath openly rebuked the crimes of the prelates and kings and princes of the entire world."

revealed. Surely no fourteenth century forger could have entered so completely into the Dantesque spirit of those opening lines of the first canto. We take it that the magnificent answer of the poet to those detractors who "bark against the dispensation of so great an exaltation, because of the sin of the speaker,"¹ is a personal confession of the same kind as had been uttered, in another form, before the eyes of Beatrice on the banks of Lethe.

To this epoch of Dante's life at Ravenna belongs the delightful poetical correspondence interchanged between him and Giovanni del Virgilio, those four poems in Latin hexameters which are, in fact, the *raison d'être* of this present work. Of Giovanni del Virgilio and the little that is known about him, it will be best to speak in the introductions to these poems themselves. They reveal the most genial side of Dante's character, and give a picture of his closing days very different to that of a somewhat melodramatic tradition. The supreme poet has, indeed, been contemplating the sun and stars, pondering upon the most sweet truths, to some purpose; and bread has not failed him, though perchance it still savours somewhat of salt.² He is poor, to be sure, but full of the milk of human kindness; employed in honourable labours, admired and courted, surrounded by faithful friends—the youthful Dino Perini, himself apparently a teacher at the Studio and Dante's colleague, and Fiducio de' Milotti, philosopher and physician—both like himself hailing from the great city on Arno's banks. And behind them we get a glimpse of the courteous lord of the city, Guido Novello da Polenta himself, watching over his guest's safety, keeping

¹ Cf. whole paragraph, *Epist.* X., § 28.

² Cf. *Epist.* IX. and *Paradiso* XVII.

him bound to himself by the bonds of friendship, sharing in his poetic studies. The laurel crown that Bologna offers is graciously but firmly refused, and still the exile's eyes are fixed upon that Florence where he had once left *ogni cosa diletta più caramente*. It seems from the internal evidence of the poems themselves that this offer from Bologna came probably in the early part of 1319, and that Dante's answer, his first Eclogue, was probably written in the spring or the early summer of this same year.¹ And we know too, from Dante's own words, that the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* were already completed and published, and that he was now engaged upon the *Paradiso*. "Were it not better done to trim my locks in triumph, and that I, once auburn, should hide them, hoary now, under the entwined leaves when, if so be, I return to my ancestral Sarnus?" "When the bodies that flow round the world, and they that dwell among the stars, shall be shown forth in my song, even as the lower realms, then shall I joy to bind my brow with ivy and with laurel."²

It was now, too, though probably a little later, that Dante penned that other reference at once to the laurel crown and to his own longed-for return to Florence—the desire that had risen to his lips, even in the ecstatic foretaste of Paradise, when Peter confirmed his faith in the Stellar Heaven :

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,
al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro,
vinca la crudeltà, che fuor mi serra
del bello ovil, dov' io dormii agnello
nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra ;

¹ See the introductions to the Poems. ² *Carmen* II., lines 42-44, 48-50.

con altra voce omai, con altro vello
 ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
 del mio battesimo prenderò il cappello ;
 però che nella Fede, che fa conte
 l'anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
 Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.¹

Nor, as we shall see, was it without cause that Dante thus wove in his desire for poetic recognition with this triumphant vindication of his faith received from his Church's first supreme Pontiff.

VI.

Dante's growing reputation had its drawbacks. The Philistines of both factions had their eyes upon him. Not only did the women of Verona whisper that Hell had "crisped his beard and singed his cheek," but the Ghibelline tyrants of Milan appear to have imagined that he could destroy their enemies by witchcraft, had he been so disposed, while the Guelf ecclesiastics of Ravenna scented heresy in the man,

"By whom, though not of priestly guild,
 With Heaven and Hell men's hearts were filled."

The tradition that Dante was actually accused of heresy during his life at Ravenna, as well as after his death at Bologna, is too universal to be rejected. Of the various popular versions of the story the best is the second of the two given by Papanti,² as found in two fifteenth century manuscripts :

"At the time when Dante was making his book, many persons did not understand it, and they said it was contrary

¹ *Par.*, XXV. 1-12.

² *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, pp. 47-49.

to the Faith. There was at Ravenna at that time a wise Friar Minor, and he was Inquisitor; and hearing this Dante mentioned, he resolved in his heart that he would know him, with the intent of seeing if he erred in the Faith of Christ. And one morning Dante was in a church to see our Lord at the Mass, and this Inquisitor came to this church, and Dante was pointed out to him, so that the Inquisitor had him called; and Dante reverently went to him. Then the Inquisitor said to him, 'Art thou that Dante, who sayest thou hast been in Hell, in Purgatory, and in Paradise?' And Dante answered, 'I am Dante Alighieri of Florence.' The Inquisitor angrily said, 'Thou goest making odes and sonnets and trash; thou wouldst have done much better to write a book in Latin,¹ founding thyself upon the Holy Church of God, and not attend to such rubbish as this that could one day give thee what thou dost deserve.' And when Dante wished to answer the Inquisitor, the Inquisitor said, 'There is no time now; but we shall be together on such a day, and I shall wish to look into the matter, thereupon Dante answered and said that this pleased him much, and he departed from the said Inquisitor and went his way to his room; and then he made that capitolo which is called the *Credo*, the which *Credo* is the affirmation of all the Faith of Christ. And upon the day appointed upon which he was to meet the said Inquisitor, he returned to him and placed this capitolo in his hand. When the Inquisitor had read it, it seemed to him a notable thing, and he knew not how to answer Dante.

¹ *Un libro in gramatica.* Here Giovanni del Virgilio and the Friar join hands. But the Bolognese Professor merely thought the writing of such a work in Italian an unscholarly or, at the worst, a vulgar proceeding, while the Inquisitor perceived the cloven foot of heresy; cf. *Carmen* I., lines 6-15.

So the aforesaid Inquisitor remained then all confused, and Dante departed from him and went away safe and sound. And from that time onward Dante always remained a very great friend of the aforesaid Inquisitor. And this was the cause for which Dante made the said *Credo*."

It is, of course, agreed among Dante scholars that this *Credo* is spurious, and some have assigned it to Antonio da Ferrara, the *valentissimo uomo quasi poeta* (that *quasi* is distinctly good) of Franco Sacchetti's very profane Dantesque novella.¹ A cynical modern reader might suggest that the poet showed the Inquisitor the *Inferno*, and the latter at once hailed him as a kindred spirit. Be that as it may, it is worth noting with reference to a possible friendship between Dante and an inquisitor that the Franciscan, Fra Accorso de' Bonfantini, who was appointed by Pope John XXII. to act as "inquisitor of heretical depravity" in Florence, wrote a commentary upon the *Inferno*, which is not extant, and in 1328 handed over Dante's unfortunate detractor, Cecco d' Ascoli, to the secular arm.²

This episode in Dante's life is confirmed by the testimony—though vague and indefinite—of several of the early commentators. "We should know," writes Jacopo della Lana in the proem to his commentary on *Paradiso* XXIV., "that what moved the author to deal with the articles of the Christian Faith in such detail was the envy of the many detractors who are in the world, who, not understanding the style

¹ *Novella* 121.

² Carducci, *Della Varia Fortuna di Dante*, p. 295 (*Studi Letterari*, Leghorn, 1890). See Villani, X. 39; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, V., pt. 1 (pp. 307-313 of Milanese edition, 1823). The "Inquisitor hæreticæ pravitatis" was popularly styled "Inquisitore dei Paterini."

in Dante's circle by these accusations is well expressed in some lines by his son, Pietro :

O Signor giusto, facciamti preghiero
che tanta iniquità deggia punire
di quei che voglion dire
che il mastro della fede fussi errante.
Se fussi spenta, rifariala Dante.¹

An extreme expression of the hostility excited against Dante in certain quarters may be found in the virulent

unpublished commentary, to which reference has already been made, thinks it necessary distinctly to state that when Dante says that the souls of the suicides shall never clothe themselves with their bodies again, he does not mean to deny the resurrection of the body (F. 106b in *MS.*). Similarly Boccaccio explains away Dante's apparent heresy ; the author of the *Decameron* had grown somewhat scrupulous since his conversion, and propounds the doctrine that a Christian poet may never, either in his own person or in that of another, relate or make related, by way of assertion, anything that is erroneous or contrary to Catholic verity. He, like the *Ottimo*, refers to the *Paradiso* as the supreme test of Dante's orthodoxy (*Commento, lezione cinghentesima*). Benvenuto da Imola comments at great length upon the passage. "Upon this difficult and arduous passage," he says, "than which there is none more difficult found in the whole of this poem, we must lay stress with all the powers of our soul, because what the author says here seems to be not only erroneous but expressly heretical." After a long allegorical interpretation, which is intended triumphantly to vindicate Dante's orthodoxy, but which does not concern us here, Benvenuto concludes : "Therefore one need not break one's head upon this any more, nor calumniate the author as some heedlessly do ; for even if they cannot understand the author's fiction, they should nevertheless defend him, bearing in mind that he has spoken everywhere as a Catholic, as is patent throughout, and that he did not say this without good reason, for he was not ignorant in a matter of faith of what even old women know, to wit, that all souls will resume their bodies at the last day" (*Comentum super Dantis Comœdiam*, Florence, 1887, Vol. I, pp. 448-450). This shows clearly that the matter was still regarded as important and dangerous, even when Benvenuto lectured in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. On the question of Dante's real attitude towards mediaeval heresy, with documents and details concerning the Catari and Paterini in Florence, see Felice Tocco's interesting study : *Quel che non c'è nella Divina Commedia, o Dante e l'Eresia*. Bologna, 1899.

¹ Quoted in Carducci, *Della Varia Fortuna di Dante*, p. 296.

confutation of the *De Monarchia*, written shortly after Dante's death by a Dominican from Rimini, Fra Guido Vernani, and dedicated to Graziolo de' Bambaglioli himself, with a strongly expressed warning. In his exordium, Fra Guido represents Dante's works as a growing danger to the Faith, as a vessel lovely to look upon, but containing cruel and pestilent poison. The poet, according to him, is an agent of the Father of Lies, a fantastic and verbose sophist, who by his alluring eloquence and sweet siren strains, by uniting the philosophy of Boethius to his own poetical imaginations and fictions, and introducing Seneca into the churches, is deluding not only the weaker brethren, but even studious and learned persons.¹ Antonio Pucci, writing in his *Centiloquio* nearly half a century later, declares that in his days the Pope and Cardinals would have been among the foremost defenders of Dante's orthodoxy; but it was evidently not so at the time, and it is probable that Fra Guido and the Cardinal Bertrando, to whose action in the matter we shall come presently, simply reflected the idea conceived of Dante by the anti-Italian faction in the papal court at Avignon.²

Even more curious is the fact, recently brought to light, that in these latter years of his life the divine poet was believed to be an authority upon charms and poisons. John XXII. took a nervous interest in this unpleasant topic. He was convinced that his enemies were perpetually

¹ *De potestate summi Pontificis et de reprobatione Monarchiæ composita a Dante Aligherio Florentino*, Bologna, 1746, pp. 7, 8. It was written between 1321 and 1334.

² The supposed bull or letter of Pope John XXII. forbidding the University of Paris to discuss the doctrines of Dante Alighieri and others is obviously a mere fabrication. See H. Oelander, *Dante in Frankreich*, Berlin, 1898, pp. 3 and 55.

seeking his life by sorcery; pious ladies used to send him curious articles which were supposed to be antidotes to all forms of magic; and in 1317 a bishop had actually been degraded and executed for having attempted to kill him by melting a waxen image before a fire. In 1320 a process was held at Avignon against Matteo Visconti and his son Galeazzo, for practising in this manner against the life of the Pope by sorcery. The court was composed of the Pope's nephews, Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto and the Cardinal Archbishop Arnaldo of Avignon, and the Abbot Piero of S. Saturnino of Toulouse, who had conducted the previous inquiry into the case of the aforesaid bishop. A certain Bartolommeo Canolati of Milan told the court an extraordinary story of the attempts made, first by Matteo at Milan and then by Galeazzo at Piacenza, to induce him to destroy the Pope by fumigating a silver image of his Holiness with certain poisons and incantations. In the account of the second interview of Bartolommeo Canolati with Galeazzo Visconti, we are arrested by the sudden mention of Dante's name. Galeazzo is represented as enlarging upon the papal persecution of the Ghibellines and assuring Bartolommeo that it would be a real act of charity and mercy to procure the death of the Pope, and then, when the other still asked for time to think it over—

“Galeazzo said to the aforesaid Bartolommeo: ‘Know that I made master Dante Alegriro [*sic*] of Florence come to me for this same business concerning which I now ask thee.’ To whom Bartolommeo said: ‘Know that it would please me greatly that he should do these things that you seek.’ The said Galeazzo said to Bartolommeo: ‘Know, Bartolommeo, that I would not suffer for anything in the world that the said Dante Alegriro [*sic*] should have his hand in

these things or do anything; nay, I would not reveal this business to him for a thousand golden florins, for I wish thee to do it because I trust much in thee.'"¹

Unless Galeazzo deliberately lied, it would apparently follow that Dante visited Piacenza in 1319 or 1320, and that the Visconti, after cautiously sounding his guest, found that he had mistaken his man, and that not a hint of his nefarious design must be suffered to reach the poet. Assuming that the document is genuine, it is, however, by no means improbable that the whole thing was what in local parlance is called a "fake"; the informer may have been simply playing upon the Pope's known nervousness on this theme, or have been merely supplying the sort of evidence he knew would be welcome to make up a strong case against the excommunicated tyrants of Milan.

Incidentally, this possible presence of the poet in Lombardy in 1319 or 1320 bears upon a most controverted point in Dantology—the (apparently third) visit to Verona which bore fruit in the *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*. If this treatise is authentic, Dante visited Mantua at this epoch. There is nothing to fix the exact date of this putative Mantuan visit; but the wording of the first section of the *Quæstio* seems to point to a time very shortly previous to writing—and therefore probably the latter part of 1319 or the beginning of 1320. Here Dante heard a scientific

¹ See Passerini, *Una nuova notizia della vita di Dante*, in the *Giornale Dantesco*, IV. 3, Florence, 1896. The document, which is a fragment of the secretary's report of two meetings of the court, February 9th and September 11th, 1320 (the informer having returned to Italy in the meanwhile and interviewed Galeazzo as above), was discovered by Prof. Giuseppe Iorio in the Vatican Archives in 1895. It may be observed that the Cardinal Bertrando, who is represented as presiding, would naturally have been in Italy at this date.

question raised concerning the relative position of the element Water and the element Earth upon the surface of the globe, and treated in what he considered an altogether inconclusive and inadequate manner. "Wherefore since I have been continuously nurtured in the love of truth from my boyhood, I did not endure to leave this question undiscussed; but it pleased me to show the truth concerning it, as also to dissolve the arguments urged on the other side, alike from love of truth and hatred of falsehood."¹ This he did, according to the *Quæstio*, in a lecture delivered at Verona on January 20th, 1320; and of this lecture the treatise professes to be his own written account. "This philosophical point was determined, while that unconquered Lord, the Lord Can Grande della Scala, held sway for the sacrosanct Roman Empire, by me, Dante Alighieri, the least of the philosophers, in the famous city of Verona in the temple of the glorious Helena, in the presence of all the Veronese clergy, save those who, burning with excess of charity, do not accept the postulates of others, and by reason of the virtue of humility, being themselves poor of the Holy Spirit, lest they should seem to approve of excellence in others, refuse to be present at their discourses."²

With regard to the possible or probable authenticity of this treatise, we must refer our readers to Dr. Moore's masterly essay.³ It has, of late years, become the fashion among Italian scholars to assume that the *Quæstio* is a palpable forgery of the early Cinquecento. And it must be

¹ *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*, § 1.

² *Ibid.*, § 24.

³ *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, Essay VII., Oxford, 1899. See also, on the other side, R. Renier in the *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. xxxvi., Turin, 1900, pp. 162-173; and cf. F. Angelitti in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca*, N.S., viii., f. 3-4, pp. 52-71.

admitted that the external evidence, as far as it goes, is somewhat strongly against its being genuine. No early biographer of Dante mentions the work or alludes to his having delivered such a discourse—though Boccaccio at least was fairly well acquainted with the events of these closing years of Dante's life, and might have been expected to enlarge upon this episode, as he has recorded a similar disputation which Dante at an earlier epoch sustained at the University of Paris.¹ No manuscript of the work exists, and absolutely nothing had been heard of it until the Augustinian Moncetti, in 1508, professed to have discovered a MS., from which he published it. This MS. appears to have been seen by no one else, either then or since. On the other hand, we think that few readers can have studied Dr. Moore's essay without coming to the conclusion that the internal evidence in favour of the authenticity of the *Quæstio* is singularly complete and convincing. "It is," as Dr. Moore writes, "thoroughly Dantesque in the whole texture of its style, language, and forms of thought."²

¹ *Vita*, § 2.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 355. Here we would merely add one little further piece of evidence to that already collected by Dr. Moore, showing that the question with which Dante deals—whether water in its own sphere or natural circumference can in any place be higher than the dry land or habitable part of the earth—was one of lively interest and still open for discussion in the poet's time. In the Laurentian MS., so often referred to in these pages (but not in the portion of it from Boccaccio's hand), there is a physical treatise by Andalò da Nigro, containing a passage which bears much the same relation to this *Quæstio* as a sonnet by Cino da Pistoia might do to one of the nobler lyrics of the *Vita Nuova*. This Andalò da Nigro was a native of Genoa, who taught astronomy in Florence about the year 1330. Boccaccio, who had studied under him, calls him *venerabilis Andalò preceptor meus*, and, among modern authorities for his *Genealogia Deorum*, he names first of all this "generous and venerable old man, Andalò da Nigro of Genoa, formerly my teacher in the motions of the stars," praising him highly and coupling him with Dante (*Gen. Deor.*

We are inclined, therefore, to regard it as highly probable that, in 1319 and 1320, Dante paid a short visit to Lombardy. There was the closest possible alliance at that time between the Visconti and the Lords of Mantua and Verona, Passerino and Can Grande; and even Guido Novello, like the Estensi, had to some extent abandoned the extreme Guelf traditions of his House. Had he, perhaps, intrusted Dante with some secret mission to the three great leaders of the Ghibelline league? Possibly in connection with his recent acquisition of Comacchio and his designs on Bagnacavallo? The Lords of Ferrara must have had some powerful inducement, to us unknown, that made them so calmly acquiesce in the surrender of Comacchio to the Polentani, especially at a time when they themselves were firmly allied to Can Grande.

VII.

It is certain that the last public act of Dante's life was another embassy; one undertaken at a most critical moment to save the pacific state of Guido Novello from annihilation.

Gent., I. 6, II. 7, and especially XV. 6. Cf. also L. Ximenes, *Del vecchio e nuovo gnomone fiorentino*, Florence, 1757, *introduzione istorica*, pp. lx., lxi.). In the passage Andalo mentions various views held concerning the relative position of the sphere of earth and the sphere of water; some have been of opinion that the sphere of water is eccentric from the sphere of earth, and that this is the cause of the emergence of the earth above the waters; "but others have held that, because of the heat of the sun, the vapours stirred in the womb of earth make certain excrescences on the face of earth which produce a hump that stretches above the waters, and there land appears. Others again have held that earth and water are but one sphere, and that the water is all held in the concavities of the earth; and this opinion appears to us the one to be maintained by preference."

In the summer of 1321 a quarrel between Venetian and Ravennese sailors, or perhaps a Venetian filibustering expedition, brought on a conflict, in which the Venetians were worsted. We have no particulars of the affair, which is officially represented by the Doge of Venice as an "excess committed against us by Guido da Polenta, by the Commune and men of Ravenna, in taking our ships, slaying our captain and his company, and wounding others of our men without any just cause, and while we were in true peace and concord with them."¹ The result was that the Doge, Giovanni Soranzo, and the tyrant of Forlì, Cecco degli Ordellaffi, entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, and prepared for a war of extermination against Ravenna. They secured the benevolent neutrality of Pandolfo Malatesta, the Guelf Lord of Rimini, and the Communes and Podestàs of Cesena, Imola, and Faenza. Guido Novello thus found himself threatened on all sides and on the brink of destruction. At the end of August, 1321, Guido sent Dante to Venice with other ambassadors to lay the whole matter before the Doge, and to avert the war by diplomatic means. That the war was averted, by a second embassy sent from Ravenna a little later, seems certain. Filippo Villani declares that the Venetians refused Dante a hearing, and forced him, sick with fever, to return by land. It is possible, however, and perhaps more probable, that he was simply sent back to offer terms from the great Republic to Guido Novello, and that the second embassy had merely to convey to the Doge their acceptance. Be that as it may, Dante only returned to Ravenna to die.

¹ See Ricci, pp. 145-154, and Documents X.-XIII., pp. 417-420.

"But since his hour is assigned to every man, Dante, when already in the middle or thereabout of his fifty-sixth year, fell sick, and, in accordance with the Christian religion, received every sacrament of the Church humbly and devoutly, and reconciled himself with God by contrition for everything that, being but man, he had done against His pleasure; and in the month of September, in the years of Christ one thousand three hundred and twenty-one, on the day whereon the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is celebrated by the Church, not without greatest grief on the part of the aforesaid Guido, and generally all the other Ravennese citizens, he rendered up to his Creator his toil-worn spirit, the which I doubt not was received into the arms of his most noble Beatrice, with whom, in the sight of Him who is the supreme good, the miseries of this present life left behind, he now lives most joyously in that life to the felicity of which no end is looked for."¹

Crowned with laurel, arrayed "in the garb of a poet and of a great philosopher," the body was borne on the shoulders of the most distinguished citizens of Ravenna to the Church of the Friars Minor. Guido Novello himself pronounced the funeral oration, and meditated how to rear a worthy tomb to his dead friend, while poets vied with each other in composing epitaphs which they sent to Guido to be placed upon the tomb. The work was never executed; and in later years Boccaccio, coming to Ravenna, was shown the verses, and selected from them, as "most worthy, for art and for matter," the fourteen lines written by Giovanni del Virgilio which form the fifth poem of the present volume.

¹ Boccaccio, *Vita*, § 6. Dante probably died in the night between September 13th and September 14th.

The last thirteen cantos of the *Paradiso* remained unpublished, and, when for many months Dante's pupils and disciples had searched in vain, Boccaccio—on the authority of one for whose presence at Ravenna we have documentary evidence—tells us that the spirit of Dante himself appeared to give the world his last divine message.

“Now Jacopo and Piero, sons of Dante, both of them poets in rhyme, had been moved by certain of their friends to strive to supplement the paternal work, as far as in them lay, that it might not remain imperfect; when to Jacopo, who was far more zealous than the other in this work, there appeared a wondrous vision, which not only checked his foolish presumption, but showed him where were the thirteen cantos which were wanting to the Divine Comedy and which they had not known to find. A worthy man of Ravenna, whose name was Piero Giardino, long time a disciple of Dante's, related to me how, when eight months had passed after the death of his master, the aforesaid Jacopo had come to him one night, near to the hour that we call matins, and told him that that same night, a little before that hour, he had seen in his sleep his father Dante approach him, clad in whitest garments, and his face shining with an unwonted light; whom he seemed to ask if he were alive and to hear in reply, yea, but of the true life, not of ours. Whereon he seemed further to ask him if he had completed his work or ever he passed to the true life, and, if he had completed it, where was the missing part which they had never been able to find. To this he seemed to hear again in answer, ‘Yea! I completed it.’ Whereon it seemed that he took him by the hand and led him to that chamber where he was wont to sleep when he lived of this life, and, touching a certain spot, he said, ‘Here is that which ye so long have sought.’

And when that word was said, it seemed that both Dante and his sleep departed from him at the same moment. Wherefore he averred that he could not hold but come and signify what he had seen, that they might go together and search in the place indicated to him, which he held most perfectly stamped on his memory, to see whether a true spirit or a false delusion had shown it him. Wherefore, while a great piece of the night still remained, they departed together and went to the place indicated, and there found a mat fixed to the wall, which they carefully removed, and found an opening in the wall which neither of them had ever seen, nor knew that it was there; and there they found certain writings, all mouldy with the damp of the wall, and ready to rot had they stayed there much longer; and when they had softly removed the mould and read therein, they saw that they contained the thirteen cantos so long sought by them. Wherefore, in the greatest joy, they copied them out after the author's wont ere he sent them to Messer Cane, and then joined them on, as was meet, to the imperfect work. In such manner did the work of so many years see its completion."¹

VIII.

Guido Novello's fall followed closely upon Dante's death. On August 18th, 1321, the excellent Archbishop of Ravenna, Rinaldo Concorreggio, had died. On September 10th, Guido's younger brother, Rinaldo da Polenta, Archdeacon of the Ravennese Church, had been elected Archbishop, thus uniting the temporal and spiritual sway of the city in the hands of the ruling house.

¹ *Vita*, § 14. For Piero di Giardino, see Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-211.

In the following February, 1322, Guido Novello was elected Captain of the People at Bologna, and, towards the end of March, he left Ravenna with his household, leaving the keys of the city in the charge of Rinaldo and intrusting the military defence to his cousin Ostasio, the Podestà of Cervia. Guido's office was to last until the first of October; and his uncle Bannino, a loyal and brave man, was away also, acting as Captain of the People in Florence; when Ostasio determined to grasp the whole lordship for himself, before either of them returned. On the pretext of wishing to go back to Cervia on a hunting expedition, he got the keys of the city from the Archdeacon (as the Archbishop was still called, pending the papal confirmation of his election), and then, on September 20th, at break of day, opened the gates of Ravenna and admitted the soldiery of the Malatesta, who, under the command of Ugolino da Cunio, had been lying in wait. "And when this had been done," writes the old annalist of Cesena, "the enemy came to the chamber of the Lord Archdeacon himself, asking and professing to wish to speak with the Lord Archdeacon, and especially Ostasio did so. To him the said Lord Archdeacon made them instantly open, as he lay in his bed. And when they entered the chamber, Lord Ostasio himself and Ugolino with certain servants treacherously slew the said Lord Archdeacon Rinaldo, and occupied the city."¹ Well might Saviozzo of Siena write of the House of Polenta:

al gentil sangue fatto poi Caino.

The news reached Bologna the next day. Guido Novello at once called his followers to horse and hastened towards

¹ *Annales Cesenates*, 1141. See also Villani, *Come i signori di Ravenna s'uccidono insieme*, IX. 167.

Ravenna, whilst the Bolognese summoned a council of urgency, which decided to lend their Captain active military support to recover his own. He found the gates of the city closed against him by his treacherous cousin, and, his forces being insufficient to venture upon an assault, he returned to Bologna, where he stayed a few months highly honoured by the Bolognese with offices and emoluments. At the beginning of 1323 the intrigues of Ostasio caused Guido's temporary expulsion, and in the following June, with aid from his former foe Cecco degli Ordellaffi of Forlì, he again assailed Ravenna, but, after a grim battle at dawn, was repulsed. The Bolognese, in order to maintain an attitude of neutrality towards Ravenna, at once proceeded against those of their citizens who had aided Guido in this attempt.¹ In 1325 Ostasio secured his rule by the capture of Cervia and the cruel murder of Bannino and Bannino's son, Guido, before the walls of Ravenna. A few years later he basely surrendered Ravenna to the papal legate.

Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto in 1326 was sent into Italy on a second commission from Pope John XXII., and took advantage of the alarm and confusion caused by the Italian expedition of Louis of Bavaria to make himself tyrant of Bologna and several of the neighbouring Romagna cities. We do not know whether Bertrando's mind had been poisoned by the evidence of the sorcery trial, but it is certain that he now turned upon the earthly remains of the divine poet. The contest between the papal party and the adherents of Louis of Bavaria had called public attention to the *De Monarchia*; and when Louis had returned to Germany in 1329, "the said Cardinal," writes Boccaccio, "with none

¹ Most of these details are from Ricci, *op. cit.*

to say him nay, seized the aforesaid book, and condemned it publicly to the flames, as containing heresies. And in like manner he was bent on dealing with the bones of the author, to the eternal infamy and confusion of his memory, had it not been opposed by a noble and valiant cavalier of Florence, by name Pino della Tosa, who was then at Bologna, where this thing was being discussed; and with him in this was Messer Ostasio da Polenta; both of whom had much power with the aforesaid Cardinal."¹ Thus the *gentil sangue* of Polenta was not all polluted in the heart of Ostasio.

In 1330 Guido Novello himself died at Bologna, leaving a name exceedingly dear to all lovers of Dante. Unmentioned in the *Divina Commedia*, he lives in Del Virgilio's second poem and in the second Dantesque Eclogue as the courtly shepherd Iolas, *comis et urbanus*, watching with kindly air, himself unseen, all that goes on, but somewhat apart from these humbler rustics. Indeed we are given to understand that it was he who has preserved for us in the second Eclogue what is almost the last of the divine poet's utterances:

Callidus interea juxta latitavit Iolas
omnia qui didicit qui retulit omnia nobis.
Ille quidem nobis et nos tibi, Mopse, poimus.²

In the old Bolognese Chronicle, quoted by Ricci, there occurs under 1330 the simple sentence: "In the same year the Lord Guido Novello of Polenta died." This was the year after Albertino Mussato had passed away in exile and poverty at Chioggia, and Can Grande della Scala had died at Treviso in the full flush of his crowning triumph.

¹ *Vita*, § 16.

² "Meantime the wily Iolas lay hiding close at hand. All that they said he heard, and told us all he heard. He made the tale for us, and we, Mopsus, for thee"—*Carmen* IV., lines 95-97. See our introduction to this Eclogue.

DANTE'S ECLOGUES AND DEL VIRGILIO'S POETIC REMAINS.

*" Piget me, cunctis pietate maiorem, quicumque
in exilio tabescentes patriam tantum sompniando
revisunt."*

**“Excelling others in tenderness, I mourn for all
such as languish in exile and revisit their father-
land only in their dreams.”**

INTRODUCTION.

I. DEL VIRGILIO TO DANTE.

IN the *Libro delle Provvisioni* preserved in the archives of Bologna, under the date of November 16th, 1321, is an entry to the effect that whereas it concerns the Commonwealth to maintain and augment the Studium (*i.e.* the University), and whereas Master Johannes, son of the late Master Antonius, known as De Virgilio, is the only professor of poetry in the Studium, and whereas he declares that he cannot continue to teach unless public provision is made for him, it is the pleasure of the council and the body of the people to provide a salary for the said Master Johannes.¹

Who was this Giovanni "known as Del Virgilio"? It is scarcely likely that any one in our day would have asked or answered the question, had it not been for the industry and the pious care of Giovanni Boccaccio—to whom may much be forgiven, for he loved much. In the celebrated Laurentian MS., Pl. XXIX. 8, into which, before he met Petrarch, Boccaccio was wont to copy odds and ends of prose and

¹ See Macri-Leone, *La Bucolica Latina nella letteratura italiana del secolo XIV*. Turin, 1889, p. 59; cf. p. 133 of this volume.

verse that took his fancy or that provided material for work which he had in hand or was contemplating,¹ we find, scattered up and down, poems and poetic fragments composed by Master Johannes. An Eclogue of considerable length addressed to Mussato (No. VI. in this collection), two shorter poems addressed to Dante Alighieri (Nos. I. and III.), two answers in verse to greetings or requests from admirers—one of them unnamed and both of them unknown—(Nos. VIII. and X.), and an extract from what was apparently a narrative poem of considerable dimensions (No. XI.), constitute the poetic remains which the affectionate admiration of Boccaccio has thus preserved. The three longer poems are accompanied by notes of extreme value, derived from a contemporary source and written in by a hand little later than that of Boccaccio himself; and from these we gather a certain amount of information concerning Del Virgilio, while a few additional details, the source of which we cannot trace, are given by a later copyist.² Further, in the celebrated biographical tract known as the *Vita di Dante*, Boccaccio has preserved an epitaph on Dante written by this same Del Virgilio (No. V.), whom he declares to have been at that time “a most renowned and great poet, and one who had enjoyed Dante’s very special friendship.”³ And lastly there still exists, complete in the original Latin and partially translated into Italian, a treatise ascribed to Giovanni on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, intrinsically worthless, but amusing and instructive as a record of methods of teaching in the fourteenth century and

¹ See H. Hauvette, *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, Rome, 1894, pp. 106 et seqq.

² See description of MSS. under G.

³ *Vita*, § 6.

of the point of view from which the classics were then studied.¹

Happily or unhappily, this slender material does not put us in a position to construct in any shape or form "what is called the life of a man";² but it enables us to conceive a singularly vivid and attractive picture of the man himself. He was born, we know not when, in Bologna,³ and we first meet him in the year 1319 as a Professor in the Studium of Bologna. He had already earned the cognomen of Del Virgilio by the success of his expositions or imitations of the great master;⁴ he enjoyed a high reputation as a teacher and was an ardent disciple of the great Paduan school of Latin poetry, of which Lovato was the founder and Mussato the chief ornament. He was on terms of intimacy with Dante, and was filled with admiration for his genius; but he was not in the least reconciled to his

¹ Some account of this treatise is given in Appendix I.

² "When I read the book, the biography famous,

And is this (said I) what the author calls a man's life?"—*Walt Whitman*.

³ Boccaccio (*Vita*, § 6) calls him a Bolognese, and two passages in Del Virgilio's own poems (III. 3 and VI. 106) seem to confirm the statement. The MSS. oscillate between Bologna and Cesena, in which latter city Del Virgilio lived for some time (see p. 135). But the statement of the scribe of the MS. G seems decisive (see below). Cf. Macri-Leone, *op. cit.* pp. 55-58.

⁴ Macri-Leone (p. 55), following Novati, seems inclined to regard *Virgilio* as a proper name, of which there are said to be other examples in Bologna at this period; but such passages as VI. 183, VI. 226, IX. 1, point to a personal origin of the name, and the phrase "qui dicitur" (or in Italian "detto") is, so far as we know, never used except of a name conferred upon an individual. The Virgilio mentioned by Novati may belong to another family, or Giovanni's personally acquired name may, possibly, have been extended subsequently to the other members of his family. Thus the whole family of the Mussati were called Poets, as though it were their family name, as we see from Giovanni da Naone's "De Poetis, sive de Muxatis" (Zardo, p. 366; cf. our note on p. 7).

bold departure from literary tradition in the subject of his poems, and above all in the medium in which he expressed himself. Lovato had written two great poems, one on Iseult and the other on the Guelf and Ghibelline disputes.¹ Mussato had sung a "patriotic song" on the subject of the tyranny of Ezzelino, intended to warn his countrymen against the horrors of an alien rule and to hearten them in the defence of their liberties. Why would not Dante fall into line with them and dedicate his talents to the illustration of contemporary history, in Latin poems? Mussato had already earned the honour of the ivy and laurel crown conferred on him by his grateful countrymen and the admiring students of the University of Padua. Why should not the same honour be sought and won by Dante too? Nay, why should not he, Del Virgilio himself, take the initiative and with his own hands place the poetic crown upon Dante's head in the presence of his enthusiastic students? For though Dante had not yet written in the tongue which alone, strictly speaking, could entitle him to the honour of the crown, yet Del Virgilio flattered himself that he had enough perception to discern his great genius even though obscured by the banality of the vernacular medium in which he perversely insisted on writing, and that he had enough influence to induce the Studio of Bologna to anticipate the verdict which Dante's Latin poems, when they appeared, would inevitably secure.

With these sentiments Del Virgilio wrote his first poem to Dante, apparently in the earlier part of the year 1319.²

¹ See p. 36, and Appendix II.

² Among suitable subjects for Latin poems he suggests the great struggle between Robert of Naples and the Visconti for the possession of Genoa, "the mountains of Liguria and the Parthenopæan fleets," *Carmen* I. 29.

His deep and genuine admiration for Dante, whom he regards as immeasurably above him, makes itself felt and loved through all the exaggeration of conventional compliment; but there is an odd admixture of that pedantic tone of superiority characteristic of the professed Latinist addressing the "popular author"! We almost tremble as we read. How will the terrible Alighieri, whose love of his native tongue flashes forth from him in flames of fire¹, and whose yearning for his native land has laid the key of death to his breast,² receive this "rash goose-cackling" (it is Del Virgilio's own phrase) about dropping Italian and taking the crown as a Latin poet at Bologna?

II. DANTE TO DEL VIRGILIO.

Let us try to realize the associations which this poem would wake in Dante's mind. The striking analogies and differences between his lot and Mussato's must have impressed him as they cannot fail to have impressed our readers. Had not Mussato addressed to the Paduans, but not in vain, the very words which Dante had in vain addressed to the Florentines: "O my people, what have I done unto thee?" Was not Mussato's position in Padua an earnest and a prophecy of Dante's future restoration?

Cf. commentary on lines 41-43. The royal fleet left Naples on July 10th, 1318, and the siege was raised at the beginning of February, 1319, after the great Guelf victory of February 5th. Del Virgilio was probably writing shortly after the latter event.

¹ Cf. *Convivio* I. 12.

² Cf. the *Canzone*, *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son repute*, line 87.

With his passionate love of his country and of his native tongue, distilling drop by drop in the sacred song which had "kept him lean through many a year," and in which he had condensed all the learning and all the devotion of his age, he looked yearningly towards the "fair fold in which he had lain as a lamb," and still hoped for his return and for his poetic crown.¹ Such, we may suppose, was the mood in which Dante Alighieri received from the professor of Latin poetry at Bologna the cheerful proposal that he should drop this strange and undignified whim of writing on high themes in Italian, and should compose something "for students"; in which case he, the Professor, would be proud to confer upon him the coveted poetic crown in the presence of the scholars of Bologna!

Dante has been accused of wanting a sense of humour. Had he been deficient in that saving grace, one imagines that such a proposal would have been met with a burst of fiery indignation, or with a flood of despairing tears. But Dante had imagination enough to know exactly how the relative importance of things presents itself to an amiable pedant—and to love him for it, or in spite of it. He saw the humour as well as the pathos of the situation. His answer is extant, with its tenderness, its patience, its gentle undertone of sarcasm, and its inextinguishable hope that the *Paradiso* may at last quench the hostility of Florence, and may force Del Virgilio himself to accept Italian as a worthy vehicle of high themes, capable of furnishing matter even "for students." It is surely one of the most precious and revealing documents which ever threw light on the character of a great man.

¹ *Parad.* XXV., 1-9.

Dante gently sets aside the proposal that he should receive the crown at Del Virgilio's hands on the ground, first, that Bologna is no safe place for him; and, second, that it were better he should receive the crown when his great Comedy is completed, and receive it from his own repentant city. To the other plea, that he should write in Latin rather than in Italian, he hopes by-and-bye to have an answer, to wit, the *Paradiso* itself. Meanwhile he falls into Del Virgilio's vein. Something "for students"? Very well. Mussato has brought the tragic muse of Seneca into honour once again; Dante will not aspire so high, but he will revive the pastoral muse of Virgil. His answer to Giovanni, therefore, takes the form of a Virgilian eclogue, the machinery of which is managed with perfect skill, and beneath the pastoral affectations of which we feel the glow of the tenderest human emotions. Such are the origin and character of Dante's first Eclogue, which we take to have been written likewise in the earlier part of the year 1319. To question its authenticity, as some indeed have done, is surely nothing but the "expense of spirit in a waste of doubt."

III. DEL VIRGILIO TO DANTE.

Del Virgilio was transported with delight; and with characteristic freedom from all petty jealousy he threw himself into Dante's idea. So far from regarding him as a trespasser on his own domain, he greets him with an outburst of enthusiasm as a second Virgil, nay, perhaps—for who knows whether Pythagoras did not speak the truth—as Virgil's very self. He enters with the warmest sym-

pathy into Dante's hope that Florence may relent, and protests indignantly against her cruelty; he drops, as though he now saw its impertinency, his proposal of a crown at Bologna, insists no further on the Latin poems, but implores Dante to come and visit him. The dangers he fears at Bologna are imaginary, and, moreover, he has a greater inducement to offer now than any poor attractions his own company may afford; he is in a position to hold out to Dante no less an inducement than that of meeting the great Mussato himself. For Del Virgilio's enthusiasm for the Paduan school has not cooled. It was about this time that that same Rolando da Piazzola, whom we have seen associated in so many ways with Mussato, came to Bologna as one of the legal assessors—*giudice*—to the Podestà.¹ We may assume that it was on the occasion of this official visit to Bologna on the part of Rolando that he and Del Virgilio became acquainted, and we know from the latter that he poured into Del Virgilio's greedy ears the details of the literary relations between Lovato and Mussato.² And now, in the autumn of 1319, Mussato himself was expected in Bologna. Once again, as we have seen, the struggle between Can Grande and Padua was in an acute stage. Can Grande was besieging the Paduans and ravaging their district, and Mussato was again to seek alliance from Bologna, Florence, and Siena. Would not Dante come to Bologna and meet

¹ There is some difficulty about the exact date of this visit of Rolando to Bologna. Novati (*op. cit.*, VI., p. 193 note), says that he was *giudice* to the Podestà, Niccolò da Carrara, a Paduan, and cites documents of June, 1319, showing that Rolando was in office in that year. But the Bolognese Chronicles (in Muratori, *R.I.S.*, XVIII.) and Ghirardacci (*Historia di Bologna*) state that Guido Camilla of Genoa, and Gerardo Roberti of Reggio were Podestàs in 1319, and Niccolò da Carrara in 1322, while Guido Novello da Polenta was Captain of the People.;

² *Carmen* VI., line 210.

him there? How supremely blest would he, Giovanni, be if he could welcome the two greatest poets of his own day under his humble roof together!¹

IV. DANTE TO DEL VIRGILIO.

Dante was in no hurry to answer this epistle. Doubts, perhaps unfounded but certainly not unreasonable, have been raised as to whether he answered it at all. We are told by the contemporary scholiast on the Laurentian MS., who is usually well informed,² that a year elapsed before Dante composed his reply, and that it was only despatched to Del Virgilio after Dante's death by Dante's son.³

So Dante did not come to Bologna, but Mussato did. Del Virgilio himself saw the stately approach of the chief ambassadors, and in the glance of the eye, the movement of lip and hand, the power that was seated upon the features of one of the ambassadors, he recognized instinctively the great Mussato. Did he rush to meet him, proclaim himself as a brother scholar and poet, and claim his friendship? The poor teacher, abashed in the presence of the great man of affairs, thought bitterly of his unpaid salary and his unfurnished larder, and not daring to speak a word, turned back, cursing his poverty. Had it been Dante, he would have felt himself on more equal terms.

¹ For another interpretation of the hint which we have here somewhat freely expanded, see our commentary on *Carmen* III., 88.

² Cf. description of MSS.

³ Scholium on *Carmen* VI., line 228.

As for Dante, we may take it that the news of his death reached Del Virgilio before he received any full answer to his second poem. The laurel crown had been set upon the brow now cold, not in the presence of the applauding students of Bologna, not in the fair sheepfold of the repentant Florence, but in the place where the banished poet had eaten the salt bread and climbed the weary stair of exile.

Dante's answer, when it came, was a gracious poem, though curiously inferior to the first Eclogue; it is written without inspiration, and adds no important trait to our knowledge of the divine poet's character. Indeed, it does not announce itself as Dante's own work, but professes to be no more than an anonymous versification sent to Giovanni del Virgilio by its author (or authors, for it will be observed that the ambiguous first person plural is employed in the Epilogue) of an account given by Iolas (whom the scholiast identifies with Guido da Polenta) of a conversation overheard by him between Dante and his friends. We might be tempted to infer that Dante had talked over the reply that he intended to send to his Bolognese admirer, and had perhaps left some sort of first draft of it, but that the actually written poem is the result of a collaboration between Guido da Polenta and one or other of Dante's two sons. We know from Boccaccio's account of the search for the closing cantos of the *Paradiso* that these same sons did not think it beyond their powers "to supplement the paternal work, as far as in them lay, that it might not remain imperfect," and, in the Eclogue itself, the passionate eulogies of Tityrus (whom we know to be Dante) on the lips of his friend would come rather strangely from the poet's own pen, but most fittingly from that of a son or

follower.¹ On the other hand we must observe that the scholiast, from whom we learn that the poem was forwarded after Dante's death by his son, accepts Dante's authorship; and similarly both Boccaccio and Leonardo Bruni, when speaking of the Eclogues, show no hesitation in taking them both as Dante's own.² And the poem itself, while not perhaps in all respects a worthy companion of its predecessor, nevertheless has, on the whole, more vigour and felicity of description and more dramatic power than would easily be obtained by a mere imitator, and considerably more than we should have expected, from what we know of their extant works, from Guido da Polenta or either Pietro or Jacopo Alighieri. Still, while convinced of the authenticity of the poem in so far as it is the answer which was sent to Del Virgilio, we have considerable hesitation in regarding it unreservedly as Dante's in anything more than a secondary sense.³

¹ It is hardly probable that it would have seemed more presumptuous to write an Eclogue in his name than to complete the *Paradiso*, as we gather from Boccaccio (*Vita*, § 14) that these young men once thought to do. In the verse of this second Eclogue we see a curious idiosyncrasy of Dante's Latin prosody exaggerated, the great license in allowing a short vowel to count long in *cæsura*. Of this there are five examples in Dante's first poem, and eight in the poem under discussion, which of course can be used as an argument either way. It is, perhaps, worth noting that while there are no parallels between Dante's verses and Virgil's Eclogues in Dante's first poem, there are two in this second Eclogue. But for these and kindred matters see our commentary. Perhaps if Dante's sons had been able to write so good a Latin poem as this, it would not have needed an apparition from the grave to convince them of their presumption in the matter of the *Paradiso*.

² Boccaccio, *Vita*, § 16, "Dante composed two Eclogues," and Leonardo Bruni similarly, "he wrote certain Eclogues" (*Vita*).

³ These words were already in type when we became acquainted with A. Belloni's excellent article in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XXII, pp. 371-372. See our commentary on *Carmen* III., 88; cf. also Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1885, I., p. 522, and H. Oelmer's English translation, London, 1901, pp. 398, 399.

V. DEL VIRGILIO ON DANTE.

Before he had received this poem Del Virgilio wrote an epitaph which was selected from many others to stand on Dante's tomb, had Guido da Polenta ever erected it. It is a good specimen of its class, elegant, compressed, dignified; and we note with a touch of pleased amusement that to Del Virgilio Dante's three great works are the *Comedy*, the *De Monarchia*, and the *Eclogue* addressed to himself.

VI. DEL VIRGILIO TO MUSSATO.

The year of Dante's death was noteworthy in the annals of Bologna and in Del Virgilio's life. Amongst the students in the University was a certain Giacomo da Valenza, the distinguished charm of whose manners rendered him a general favourite, and who (*come il più delle volte avviene de' giovani*, as Ghirardacci remarks) was more intent upon his pleasures than upon his learning. This young man fell desperately in love with Costanza, daughter of a Bolognese citizen named Franceschino de' Zagnoni, and niece or granddaughter of Giovanni Andrea, a famous Doctor of Laws; and, since he could make no impression upon her, he resolved with the aid of some of his "ultramontane" companions to carry her off by force. The plot was well laid, and would have been successful had not the friends of the father come to the rescue and beaten back the audacious students. Giacomo escaped to a place of temporary security, but

the vigilance of the Podestà of Bologna, Giustinello Tisnigaldi of Fermo, soon discovered his hiding place. Although no harm appears to have come to the young lady, the unhappy young man was publicly executed without mercy, to the universal indignation of his fellow-students.¹

Now Bologna was a students' University, that is to say, the students organized and governed it, appointing and dismissing the professors, laying down the regulations for their conduct, and strictly prescribing their duties and their privileges. But the Commonwealth of Bologna, recognizing both the glory and the profit that accrued to the city by the existence of the Studio in its midst, not only took a deep and friendly interest in the University, but contributed handsomely to the salaries of the professors. The students were fully aware of their power, and on this occasion a vast number of them determined on a secession. They swore a mighty oath that they would never return to Bologna, and, carrying off their professors with them, migrated in the mass to Siena. This was an exceedingly serious matter for Bologna, and it was evident to the authorities at once that steps must be taken to conciliate the outraged students. Deputations were appointed to discuss matters with them. Appeal was made to Pope John XXII., who was much interested in education, and a long list of conditions was submitted to the Commonwealth of Bologna, compliance with which would secure the formal removal of the students' ban. Some of these conditions are highly interesting. The detested

¹ We have followed the account given in the two Bolognese chronicles in Muratori, R.I.S., XVIII. ; Ghirardacci gives a somewhat different version of the affair.

Podestà Giustinello was publicly to express his regret for the undue severity of his sentence, and was to pay a fine. All students who were not citizens of Bologna were to be exempt henceforth from his jurisdiction and to be under that of the Capitano del Popolo, if laymen, or the Archbishop, if clerics. The curious provision is added that no student accused of any offence is, under any pretext whatever, to be put to the torture except in the presence of two-thirds of the Anziani who shall then be in office, or of properly appointed deputies from the various districts of Bologna. Still more quaint is the requirement that Bologna shall bear the expense of a deputation to be appointed jointly by town and gown to approach John XXII. with a view to obtaining absolution for such students and professors as may break the oath they had sworn never to return to Bologna. A handsome increase in the salaries of the professors is to be secured, the legal professors receiving particular consideration, but the professors of medicine and of the arts not being excluded.¹ These terms were substantially accepted by the Commonwealth of Bologna, and the secession was formally at an end. But it is not easy to restore the *status quo ante bellum*, and during the next succeeding months we find the public authorities of Bologna anxiously attempting to secure the services of illustrious professors, especially of law. Complaints are made of the persistent attempts of Siena to induce the seceded students and teachers to remain. Runaway professors, who had broken their contracts for the sake of higher emolument, are to be handed over by the cities to which they have gone, under extradition clauses; and finally a number of

¹ See Ghirardacci, *Historia di Bologna*, Vol. II., pp. 6, 7. Bologna, 1669. Cf. our note on *Carmen* VI., line 1.

reputable students and others present a memorial setting forth that there is only one professor of versification, poetry, and the great Latin authors (Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and "Ovidius Major," i.e. the *Metamorphoses*) left, and that he declares he is unable to continue to exercise his profession unless proper public provision is made for his maintenance. This professor is Giovanni del Virgilio. Whether he had been one of the seceders to Siena or elsewhere, we have no means of determining. We know, indeed, that he had already been in the service of Bologna, and that his salary had not been paid with regularity.¹ But this is all. The conditions of his present appointment are highly interesting. The said Master Johannes is to be held and bound in any year to lecture upon versification and poetry at the will of his hearers, and in any two years to lecture upon the four authors named above, and upon any other authors at the pleasure of his hearers, two in any year according to their choice. For this, the salary of the said Master Johannes from the Commune of Bologna is to be forty Bolognese *lire* annually.²

And now we lose all certain trace of Del Virgilio for several years. Romeo dei Pepoli, *il grande ricco uomo*, as Villani calls him, had by means of his extraordinary wealth gradually risen from a mere private citizen to be virtually dictator of Bologna, and was evidently aiming at playing the same part in his city that Jacopo da Carrara had just played at Padua. He was a good friend to the University, and had tried, in vain, to save the life of the unhappy Giacomo da Valenza in 1321.³ But in the latter

¹ *Carmen* VI., line 146.

² Document given in Macri-Leone, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³ Matteo dei Griffoni, *Memoriale Historicum de Rebus Bononiensium*, in Muratori, *R.I.S.*, XVIII., 140.

part of the same year the nobles and people rose against him, exasperated at the arbitrary measures adopted by the new Podestà, Albicello de' Buondelmonti, a young Florentine and Romeo's creature; and he was expelled from the city together with his sons and the Podestà.¹ In 1322 Romeo was organizing an attempt to re-establish himself in Bologna, and collecting forces at Cesena; in 1321, and more especially in 1322, there were large numbers of persons exiled from Bologna, some in connection with this affair and some for other causes. The author of the note at the end of the Naples MS. tells us that Del Virgilio "lectured at Bologna, Padua, and at Faenza, at the time when the Ghibelline party was exiled from Bologna; for he was a perfect Ghibelline, as was Dante himself." Now, strictly speaking, these exiles from Bologna in 1321 and 1322 were not Ghibellines at all; Romeo dei Pepoli appears to have been a strenuous Guelf. Nevertheless the note may be substantially accurate, for it is not difficult to gather that at this period of Italian history the names of Guelf and Ghibelline had ceased to have any real significance. Any city in which the Guelf party had gained a definitive triumph in former times, and which was therefore officially Guelf, was in the habit of branding any defeated and ejected opposition with the title of "Ghibelline," as a fit term of opprobrium for those who sought "to embarrass the government." There might at any time be this colour for the accusation, that the ejected party might form a combination with any other group of opponents of the established authorities, and

¹ Taddeo Pepoli, Romeo's son, ultimately became Lord of Bologna in 1337, and held it for ten years. He was an enlightened ruler. See N. Rodolico, *Dal Comune alla Signoria: saggio sul governo di Taddeo Pepoli in Bologna*. Bologna, 1898.

amongst these might as likely as not be the remnants of the old Ghibelline party.¹ And in this case we find, a little later, that the adherents of Pepoli and the other Guelf exiles from Bologna actually fought against their native city in the ranks of Passerino of Mantua, who was of course a Ghibelline of the deepest dye.² Thus our commentator's declaration that Del Virgilio was a "perfect Ghibelline," and suffered with the other Ghibelline exiles, very probably means that he sided with Romeo dei Pepoli, and possibly that he was one of the exiles in 1322.

However that may be, it is certain that Del Virgilio had been long enough in Cesena to be regarded as one of the local worthies in 1324.³ Here we find him at this date still longing for recognition as a poet, still longing for intimacy with Mussato, still cherishing and honouring the memory of Dante.

¹ Thus in Florence the Whites, who were really the heirs of the Guelf policy, were, and still are, spoken of as "inclining to Ghibellinism," and their temporary alliance with the old Ghibelline nobles gave colour to the accusation. Half a century later we find a striking decree of 1364, by which it is enacted that any one who appeals to the Pope or his legate or the Cardinals shall be declared a Ghibelline (Capponi, *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze*, Florence, 1888, Vol. I., p. 314, and note). The Pope being for the moment the chief object of the suspicion or dread of the Florentines, who were Guelfs, it followed that their opponents, including the Pope, were Ghibellines. (Cf. Mussato's *Post Henricum*, Bk. II., where he calls the democratic revolutionists "Ghibellines"; see p. 24.)

² Matteo de' Griffoni (*op. cit.* 142), speaking of the mingled host that under Passerino of Mantua defeated the Bolognese Guelfs under Malatestino in 1325, says that the former was "cum omnibus expulsis de Bononia tam Scacchensibus [i.e. adherents of Pepoli] quam etiam Ghibellinis expulsis de Bononia, de Florentia, et de Lombardia."

³ There is no foundation for the statement, sometimes made, that Del Virgilio had an appointment at Bologna in 1324. Faenza, in the note on the Naples MS., may be a mistake for Cesena. It is worthy of note that in 1323, in consequence of another town and gown trouble, the Bolognese Studio had migrated to Imola.

At this period Cesena was in the hands of the Malatesta of Rimini, and was ruled by the younger Malatestino, Guido Novello's son-in-law. But the affairs of the city were practically conducted by two powerful citizens, protégés of the Malatesta and allies of Malatestino, Rinaldo de' Cinci and Ghello da Calisidio, who, in 1321, had expelled their enemies from the city and destroyed their houses. In 1324 high festival was held at Rimini, when Malatestino was knighted with others of his house, and with him Rinaldo and Ghello. From the great castle which he was building at Brettinoro, the Count of Romagna himself, Aimerico of Castel Lucio (who was now Archbishop of Ravenna as well), came to be the guest of the Malatesta on this occasion.

We have already met Rinaldo as Podestà of Padua during a disastrous period in the latter part of this year, and we learn that he there formed the acquaintance of Mussato. He had conversed with him on the merits of Del Virgilio, to whom he was united by ties of intimate friendship; and Mussato, we learn, had expressed (whether out of politeness or in sincerity) a highly favourable opinion of his poems and of his claim to the coveted laurel crown. So Rinaldo earnestly exhorted Del Virgilio to open a poetic correspondence with Mussato, which was just what he longed to do. Accordingly he addressed to him the most considerable poem which we possess from his hand. Again he chose the form of an Eclogue, with a tender reference to Dante, and it is from this poem that we learn the details already given as to the occasion on which Del Virgilio saw Mussato in Bologna and dared not to address him. Now, under the formal sponsorship of Rinaldo, he would venture at last to address the great poet and statesman in the hope of winning

an answer from him now, and, if fortune favoured, one day meeting him face to face.

His poem was completed, and we can fix its date with fair precision. Rinaldo's term of office as Podestà of Padua extended from June to December in the year 1324, and the poem obviously was not written till after his return to Cesena; but it was written while Mussato was still a prosperous man, or at any rate before the news of his fall had reached Cesena, and that fall took place in September 1325, after the poem had been written, but before it had been despatched. When the news came, Del Virgilio may well have thought the moment inauspicious for introducing himself and his pastoral strains to Mussato. Besides the revolutions in the Italian cities were so rapid and frequent, and the alternations in the fate of individuals so constant, that in spite of the present eclipse of Mussato's fortunes, Del Virgilio probably still regarded him with awe as a great man of affairs, whom even yet he hardly dared to approach. And before he had any reason to think that Mussato's position was permanently changed, another cause of delay arose. Del Virgilio's friend, Rinaldo, fell a victim to the ambitions which corrupted so many Italian hearts.

Malatestino had been badly defeated by Passerino of Mantua in 1325, when leading the Bolognese Guelfs, and was now too much occupied in the sanguinary family feuds characteristic of the House of Malatesta to pay attention to Cesena, where Rinaldo and Ghello thus held undisputed sway. Rinaldo saw the field clear. No longer alternating literary distractions with the public duties of a patriotic citizen, he began to be puffed up by his own authority and influence, and "to despise the Muses and all else." In 1326,

with the aid of Ramberto Malatesta (the deadly foe of Malatestino¹), he seized his colleague Ghello and kept him buried in a dungeon, so that everyone believed that he had slain him, and made himself Captain of the City, expelling the magnates and others who offered an obstacle. Urged now by his fears as well as by his ambitions, he ran the usual course of tyranny, and Del Virgilio in indignant suspense waited to see vengeance fall on his former friend, and was ashamed of approaching so noble and disinterested a patriot as Mussato under the sponsorship of one who had turned out to be a ruthless tyrant. He had not long to wait. Rinaldo's growing apprehensions urged him to the final step of tyranny—the securing of an alien soldiery. He entered into negotiations with the Archbishop, Count Aimerico, the wielder of the ecclesiastical powers. But when the soldiery under the Count's nephew approached the city, Rinaldo's heart failed him. He shrank from appearing openly as the enslaver rather than the magistrate of his city; or perhaps he had reason to doubt his power of employing the soldiers for his own ends. At any rate he hesitated and temporized till it was too late for him to take either course. He was seized by the papal officers and sent off to Aimerico at Brettinoro as a prisoner, while the soldiers entered the city, and were received with enthusiasm by the people and with shouts of *Viva il Popolo*. Thus Cesena became temporarily a part of the Papal States, and in the following year Aimerico himself took up his residence there. In the meanwhile Ghello was discovered in his dungeon and restored to his country, and Rinaldo, with a heavy list of accusations brought against him, was

¹ See note on *Carmen* VI., line 72.

condemned to death, and beheaded, March 1327, in the Castle of Brettinoro.¹

Rinaldo, then, had fallen, and Del Virgilio need no longer be ashamed of his friendship with him in his better days. Mussato's banishment to Chioggia was stretching into years with no prospect of a return, and at last Del Virgilio despatched his poem.

And here we lose sight of Del Virgilio. We learn from the scholia written during the life of Rolando da Piazzola² that Del Virgilio never earned the coveted crown. He was already gathered to his fathers when the scholiast annotated his poems.

Our own investigation of his works, begun solely for Dante's sake, has more and more quickened our desire to render a tribute of affectionate gratitude to the gentle and upright spirit of the forgotten scholar and poet, the friend who tried to cheer with his rustic pipe the exiles at Ravenna and at Chioggia. May this work in some humble sense help to secure him his poetic crown !

VII.-X. PROFESSORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

In his correspondence with Dante and with Mussato, Del Virgilio assumes the humble attitude of a disciple or

¹ *Annales Casenates*, in Muratori, R.I.S., XIV., 1145-46. Rinaldo's brief tyranny had only lasted from June 20th to July 12th, on which latter day the *papalini* entered the city. We hear again of Ghello in September, 1333, when he raised a successful revolt of the people of Cesena against the Papal forces after the defeat of Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto.

² Note on *Carmen* VI., line 210.

admirer. We have now to see him deferentially approached by men who looked up to him as an oracle and desired to profit by his learning.

The name of the first correspondent is unknown. Macri-Leone has ably expounded the significance of his communication. He had got hold of a Virgilian cento, which constituted the second book of an anonymous (*acephalus*) work, and he sent it to Del Virgilio, with a request that he would assign the fragments out of which the patchwork was composed to their proper places in Virgil's works. The last line of his address and the tone of Del Virgilio's answer suggest that the subject of the cento was unworthy.¹ Giovanni represents the Muses as throwing him into a trance and commissioning him with the task of restoring the fragments to their true places and clothing the poet once more in his unmutilated robe. Let them consider if they have any further and weightier commission for him; meanwhile he will open the treasure-house of Virgil.

The second correspondent is one Vacchetta, who addresses to Del Virgilio a few verses, in which he plays elaborately upon his own and his correspondent's names, and expresses his admiration of Del Virgilio and his desire to hear him expound the poet from whom he drew his cognomen. The professor adopts his correspondent's allusive style, and expresses his hope that they may become acquainted, and that he may have the pleasure of seeing him at his lectures. From the first two lines of Del Virgilio's reply, Macri-Leone rightly deduced that Vacchetta was a physician. The acuteness of this conjecture is the more noteworthy as Macri-Leone himself failed to decipher the word (*species*), which

¹ Cf. § 10 of the celebrated Virgilian cento by Ausonius.

conclusively confirms it. It is unfortunate that this critic's reproduction of these trifles¹ is extremely incorrect. In one case he has omitted two half lines.

XI. FRAGMENT OF A NARRATIVE POEM.

There is yet one more poem of Del Virgilio's extant. It is a fragment, as is shown not only by the character of the lines themselves, but by the indication added by Boccaccio at the end of his copy that more verses followed. The fragment tells its own tale. We may take it to have formed a part of a considerable narrative poem, and may further assume that Boccaccio thought it a favourable specimen of Del Virgilio's poetry.

POSTSCRIPT.

There are two other Eclogues in the same Laurentian MS. which are assigned by Bandini to Giovanni del Virgilio; the one, which he calls *Cecchus*, beginning :

“Postquam fata sinunt armis furialibus omnem” ;

and the other, which is entitled *Faunus*, beginning :

“Tempus erat placidum, Zephyrus quo missus ab antro.”²

But later scholars have disputed his reading of the obliterated headings, and find that not “Johannes de Cesena”

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 68-70.

² *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, Florence, 1774-78, Tom. II., p. 23.

but "Johannes de Certaldo," that is Boccaccio himself, is the author of both these poems. The former poem was printed by Attilio Hortis, who was the first to point out the error into which Bandini had fallen;¹ the latter has been edited and expounded by M. Hauvette,² and appears to be nothing else but an earlier version of the poem entitled *Faunus*, which is the third of the sixteen Eclogues of Boccaccio's *Bucolicon*.

In any case it is quite certain from their style and latinity that the poems in question could not possibly be Del Virgilio's. They have no claim to a place in this work, therefore; but nevertheless the "Postquam fata sinunt," which is addressed to one Cecco di Mileto of Forlì, and Cecco's reply (beginning "Jam medium lucis contingeret lumine fulvo"), which immediately follows, have a certain interest for us on account of the number of direct reminiscences of Dante's and Del Virgilio's Eclogues which they contain. Cecco's style seems to be closely studied on these models, and reminds us especially of Del Virgilio's writing.³ Boccaccio (if indeed the poem is his) can hardly be said to have formed a style at all at this period, and his latinity is full of the grossest italicisms; the supposition, therefore, that the "Postquam fata sinunt" is an early

¹ *Studi nelle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 309-311, 351, 352.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 139-145.

³ Cecco di Mileto, or Cecco dei Rossi of Forlì, was the friend of both Boccaccio and Petrarch. He was the secretary of Francesco degli Ordellaffi, Lord of Forlì (a younger brother of the Cecco degli Ordellaffi of Dante's days, who had died in 1331), the "Faunus" of Boccaccio's Eclogue. There is an account of him in Baldelli, *Rime di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, Livorno, 1802, p. 188; and his Eclogues, two in number, are printed in Volume VI. of the *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum*.

work, written before Boccaccio had come under the literary influence of Petrarch, seems to be amply justified. We are thus led to the interesting conclusion that Dante's bucolic response to Del Virgilio gave rise:

(1) To the adoption of the bucolic style by Del Virgilio himself;

(2) To the pastorals of Cecco, who may be regarded as standing in the direct line of the Dante and Del Virgilio bucolic tradition, and who, as a native of Forlì, may well have come under the direct influence of Del Virgilio at Cesena;

(3) As having given Boccaccio his first idea of suitable material for bucolic poetry, and furnished him with a store of "tags."

But at this point the tradition is brusquely cut off by Petrarch; and, when Boccaccio comes under his influence, the pastoral writers whom he had so carefully transcribed and studied hitherto become from the literary point of view so many *ignobiles*, to be neglected by men of taste who will pass straight from Virgil to Petrarch.¹

¹ See our commentary on *Carmen* VI., line 9.

CRITICAL TEXT OF THE POETIC REMAINS OF
GIOVANNI DEL VIRGILIO, AND OF DANTE
ALIGHIERI'S LATIN ECLOGUES.

MSS.

- M₁. Mediceo-Laurentian, xxix. 8.
- M₂. Mediceo-Laurentian, xxxix. 26.
- P. Palatine, §198.
- G. Gerolamini, x. 16.
- E. Estensian, Lat. 676.

Only the readings that *differ* from the reading of the text are cited. Merely orthographical differences are not noted unless they throw light on the origin of other variants or on the relations of the MSS. to each other. Conjectural emendations in the text, for which there is no MS. authority, are indicated by special type.

For a description of the MSS. and an attempt to determine their relations, see pp. 268-283.

I. Giovanni del Virgilio

ARGUMENT.—Honour to Dante's attempt to sweeten the bitter waters of Italian life by his sacred song of the Three Realms (1-5), but why persist in turning away from students and addressing the common herd, incapable of understanding such themes but capable of vulgarising them? (6-13). To plead that his poem is in truth addressed to students is to stand self-condemned for writing it in the vernacular, in which there are no fixed literary forms, and which none of the great poets has ever employed (14-20). Instead of addressing a thankless public and insulting the Muses to boot, let him enshrine in

Scholia, p. 287.

Pieridum vox alma, novis qui cantibus orbem
 mulces letifluum, vitali tollere ramo
 dum cupis evolvens triplicis confinia sortis
 indita pro meritis animarum, sontibus Orcum,
 astripetis Lethen, epiphœbia regna beatiss; [5]
 tanta quid heu semper jactabis seria vulgo,
 et nos pallentes nihil ex te vate legemus?
 Ante quidem cythara pandum delphina movebis,
 Dævus et ambigux Sphingos problemata solvet,
 Tartareum præceps quam gens idiota figuret [10]
 et secreta poli vix exspherata Platoni:
 quæ tamen in triviis nunquam digesta coaxat
 comicomus nebulo qui Flaccum pelleret orbe.

‘Non loquor his, immo studio callentibus,’ inquit.

Carmine sed laico! clerus vulgaria temnit [15]
 etsi non varient, quum sint idiomata mille;

N.B.—The critical notes only mention readings that depart from the text adopted. MSS. not mentioned present the reading of the text. Thus, for example, in i. 4, M₁PE read *indita*, and in iii. 89, M reads *portabor*.

to Dante Alighieri

verse some one or all of the great events that are even now occurring, in a tongue that will spread his fame over all the world (21-34); in earnest of which he, Giovanni, prays to be privileged to set the laurel crown upon his brows (35-40). What power might not his words have to heal the wounds of Italy? And who will dare to speak the word if he is silent? (41-46). Let Dante grant his humble admirer's prayer; or if not that, at least let him fulfil his half promise of writing him a poetic epistle (47-51).

Sacred voice of the Pierides who with unwonted songs
 dost sweeten the stagnant world, as with life-giving
 branch thou longest to upraise it, unfolding the regions of
 threefold fate assigned according to deserts of souls, Orcus
 to the guilty, Lethe to them that seek the stars, the
 realms above the sun to the blest; such weighty themes
 why wilt thou still cast to the vulgar, while we pale
 students shall read nought from thee as bard? Sooner
 shalt thou stir the curving dolphin with the harp, and
 Davus solve the riddles of equivocating Sphinx, than that
 unlettered folk shall figure the precipice of Tartarus and
 secrets of the pole scarce unsphered by Plato. Yet these
 are the very themes which are croaked forth, all undigested,
 at street corners by some buffoon with comic actor's shock
 of hair who would have driven Flaccus from the world.
 'Not to such I speak but rather to those skilled in study,'
 thou sayst. Ay, but in laic verse! Clerks scorn the
 vernaculars, even though they varied not, whereas there

Commentary.
p. 211.

MSS. M, PGE.—4. *g*, *inclita*. 5. *F*, *astu petis*. 6. *z* appears once to have had a variant here, but now reads *quid heu* with the rest. 8. *M*, *movebis* corrected to *movebit*. 11. *g* omits this line; *z*, *vis est sperata plutoni*. 12. *g*, *tangam*. 13. *g*, *comicus* (?). 16. *g*, *variet*, also *idiomate*.

Schol. p. 202. præterea nullus quos inter es agmine sextus
 nec quem consequeris cælo sermone forensi
 descripsit; quare censor liberrime vatium
 fabor si fandi paulum concedis habenas: [20]
 Nec margaritas profliga prodigus apris
 nec preme castalias indigna veste sorores;
 at precor ora cie quæ te distinguere possint,
 carmine vatisono sorti communis utrique.
 Et jam multa tuis lucem narratibus orant. [25]
 Dic age quo petiit Jovis armiger astra volatu,
 dic age quos flores quæ lilia fregit arator,
 dic Phrygios damas laceratos dente molosso,
 dic Ligurum montes et classes Parthenopæas,
 carmine quo possis Alcidiæ tangere Gades [30]
 et quo te refluus relegens mirabitur Ister
 et Pharos et quondam regnum te noscet Elisæ.
 Si te fama juvat parvo te limite septum
 non contentus eris, nec vulgo iudice tolli.

En ego jam primus si dignum duxeris esse [35]
 clericus Aonidum vocalis verna Maronis
 promere gymnasiis te delectabor ovantum,
 inclita Peneis redolentem tempora sertis;
 ut præfectus equo sibi plaudit preco sonorus
 festa trophœa ducis populo prætendere læto. [40]

Jam mihi bellisonis horrent clangoribus aures:
 quid pater Apenninus hiat? quid concitat æquor
 Tirrhenum Nereus? quid Mars infrendit utroque?
 Tange ehelyn, tantos hominum compesce labores.
 Ni canis hæc, alios a te pendendo poeta, [45]
 omnibus ut solus dicas indicta manebunt.

MSS. M₁ PGE.—17. P omits *inter*. 19. E, *uare*. 20. E apparently had once a variant, but now reads *fandi* with the rest. 22. M₁, *sorore*, corrected to *sorores*. 23. G, *oratie*. 25. G, *iusta*. PE, *narrantibus*. 26. M₁ *volata*, corrected to *volatu*, E omits this line. 27. G, *orator*. 28. M₁ has a marginal note (in the original hand), *aliter terga*; GE, *terga*; M₁, *molosso*.

are a thousand idioms. Besides, not one of those amongst whom thou makest a sixth in the band, nor him whom thou art following to heaven wrote in the language of the market-place. Wherefore, thou freest critic of the bards, I too will speak if thou yield the reins of speech a moment: 20 Cast not in prodigality thy pearls before the swine, nor load the Castalian sisters with a garb unworthy of them; but I pray thee summon utterance which may out-single thee, with bard-like song common to either lot. And even now many themes implore the light from thy discourse. Come 25 tell thou what the flight wherein the bearer of Jove's weapons sought the stars; come tell what were the flowers, what the lilies, that the Ploughman crushed; tell of the Phrygian does torn by the stag-hound's tooth; tell of the mountains of Liguria and the Parthenopæan fleets, in verse whereby thou mayst reach the Alceian's Gades and whereby Ister 30 may flow back and read and wonder at thee, and Pharos and once Elissa's realm may know thee. If fame delight thee thou wilt not accept to be hedged in narrow confine, nor to be extolled by the judgment of the common folk. Lo I, taking the lead if thou deem me worthy, 35 clerk of the Aonides, vocal attendant upon Maro, shall rejoice to present thee to the applauding schools, thine illustrious temples redolent with Peneian garlands; even as the herald mounted on his steed exults to proclaim, with ringing voice, to the rejoicing people the festal triumphs 40 of the General. E'en now my ears are shuddering with warlike clang. For what is Father Apennine agape? Wherefore stirs Nereus the Tyrrhenian sea? Wherefore doth Mars champ upon either side? Touch thou the shell, allay these mighty toils of men. If thou sing not these themes, but keepest all other poets in suspense, they 45 will be left untold by all that thou alone mayst tell.

29. M₁P, *parthonopeas*, corrected in P to *parthenopeas*. 35. P, *primum*. 38. G omits this line. 38. M₁, the *l* of *inclita* is written by a later hand over an erasure. 39. G, *prefectum*. 45. M₁, *a* is corrected to *ad* (by the original hand?); PGE, *ad*. E, *pendende*. 46. G, *indocta*.

Scholia, p. 290.

Si tamen Eridani mihi spem mediamne dedisti
quod visare notis me dignareris amicis,
nec piget enerves numeros legisse priorem
quos strepit arguto temerarius anser oleri,
respondere velis aut solvere vota magister.

[50]

MSS. M₁FGH.—47. M₁, *medianne*; P, *medianne*, with an *m* written over the first *n*; G, *mediane*; H, *mediam ne*. 48. GH, *tuis*.

But if,—O thou who art embraced on either side by Eridanus' stream,—thou didst erst give me hope that thou wouldst deign to visit me with friendly script, and if thou art not galled to have first read the feeble numbers which in temerity the goose is cackling at the clear-toned swan, graciously answer me or grant my wish, O master. 50

Commentary.
p. 220.

II. Dante Alighieri to Giovanni

ARGUMENT—Dante in elaborate pastoral cipher tells how he was conversing with one of the unlearned upon whom his friend accuses him of wasting himself when he received his letter, and was questioned about it by his companion (1-6). He answered that the letter moved in lofty regions where del Virgilio was at home, but in which his questioner was a stranger (7-23). In answer to his further importunity he explained the purport of del Virgilio's invitation (24-33), and

cholla, p. 291.

Vidimus in nigris albo patiente lituris
Pierio demulsa sinu modulamina nobis.

Forte recensentes pastas de more capellas
tunc ego sub quercu meus et Melibœus eramus:
ille quidem (cupiebat enim consciscere cantum) [5]
'Tityre quid Mopsus, quid vult? edissere' dixit.

Ridebam Mopse; magis et magis ille premebat.
Victus amore sui, posito vix denique risu,
'Stulte quid insanis?' inquam, 'tua cura capellæ
te potius poscunt, quamquam mala cenula turbet. [10]
Pascua sunt ignota tibi, quæ Menalus alto
vertice declivi celator solis inumbrat,
herbarum vario florumque impicta colore.
Circuit hæc humilis et tectus fronde saligna
perpetuis undis a summo margine ripas [15]
rorans alveolus, qui quas mons desuper edit
sponte viam qua mitis erat se fecit aquarum.
Mopsus in his dum lenta boves per gramina ludunt
contemplatur ovans hominum superumque labores:
inde per inflatos calamos interna recludit [20]

MSS. $M_1 M_2$ PGR.—5. E, *consciscere*. 7. M_1 , *magis*. 9. G omits *tua cura capella*. 10. G omits *te potius poscunt*. 13. In M_1 the *que* of *florumque* has been touched by a later hand; G reads *florum impicta colorum*, corrected

del Virgilio. Dante's Eclogue I.

in answer to the other's question told why he must decline it (34-41); and revealed his hope that when he had completed the *Paradiso* he might receive the crown in Florence—if del Virgilio would not protest (42-55). How then to win him to better thoughts as to Italian verse? (56-57). How but by sending him ten Cantos of the *Paradiso* to read! (58-64). Such his discourse with his friend, in the intervals of work as they awaited their humble meal (65-68).

We saw in letters black, supported by the white, the modulations milked for us from the Pierian breast. As chanced, beneath an oak I and my Melibœus stood, counting as is our wont our full-fed goats. Longing to share my knowledge of the song, 'Tell me, Tityrus,' he cried, 5 'what is it Mopsus wills, what is it?' I only smiled, Mopsus, while he more and more pressed me; till overcome by love of him, at last with smile still scarce suppressed, I cried, 'Ah fool, what madness this? Thee rather do the goats demand, that are thy care; although thy sorry meal distract thy thoughts. Pastures there are unknown 10 to thee, which Mænalus, darkening the declining sun with lofty peak, o'ershadows; painted with varying tint of grasses and of flowers. Circles round these a modest stream bed, sheltered with willow-leaves, bedewing its banks from its brimming margin with ripples never-failing; 15 softly and spontaneously making itself the track of the waters that the mount stretching above pours forth. Amid such scenes doth Mopsus, while his kine sport on the waving grass, triumphantly survey the toils of men and gods; then doth he open out his inward joy through breathing reeds, until the very 20

Commentary,
p. 222.

to colors. 15. *g*, *perpetuus*; *m*₁ *undi*, with *s* added by a later hand.

Schoffa, p. 292. gaudia, sic ut dulce melos armenta sequantur
 placatique ruant campis de monte leones,
 et refluant undæ frondes et Mænala nutent.'

'Tityre' tunc, 'si Mopsus' ait 'decantat in herbis
 ignotis ignota tamen sua carmina possum [25]
 te monstrante meis vagulis prodiscere capris.'

Hic ego quid poteram quum sic instaret anhelus?
 'Montibus Aoniis Mopsus Melibœe quotannis
 dum satagunt alii causarum jura doceri
 se dedit et sacri nemoris perpalluit umbra, [30]
 vatificis prolutus aquis et lacte canoro
 viscera plena ferens et plenus adusque palatum
 me vocat ad frondes versa Peneide cretas.'

'Quid facies?' Melibœus ait, 'tu tempora lauro
 semper inornata per pascua pastor habebis?' [35]

'O Melibœe, decus vatum quoque nomen in auras
 fluxit; et insomnem vix Mopsum Musa peregit,'
 'retuleram, cum sic dedit indignatio vocem
 'Quantos balatus colles et prata sonabunt
 si viridante coma fidibus pæana ciebo! [40]
 — Sed timeam saltus et rura ignara deorum.
 Nonne triumphales melius pexare capillos
 et patrio redeam si quando abscondere canos
 fronde sub inserta solitum flavescere Sarno?'

Ille 'Quis hoc dubitet? propter quod respice tempus [45]
 Tityre quam velox; nam jam senuere capellæ
 quas concepturis dedimus nos matribus hircos.'

Tunc ego 'Cum mundi circumflua corpora cantu
 astricolæque meo velut infera regna patebunt
 devincire caput hedera lauroque juvabit, [50]
 concedat Mopsus.'

'Mopsus' tunc ille 'quid?' inquit.

MSS. M₁M₂PGE.—22. G, ruunt. G, emonte; E, e monte. 23. GE, montes; E, mittent. 24. E, herbas. 25. P, ignotis tamen ignota possum sua carmina; GE, possim. 26. G, vagus; P, perdiscere; G, prodisere; E, prodisere. 31. G, perlatus; E, prolatus. 37. M₁, in sonem; M₂, insonem, corrected to

herds follow the dulcet strain; lions rush down, appeased,
 from mount to field; the streams turn back, and Mænalus
 down bends his foliage.' 'But Tityrus,' said he, 'though
 Mopsus sings in pastures all unknown, yet, wouldst
 thou show the way, his unknown songs I still may ²⁵
 learn in behoof of my truant goats!' What could I
 do on this, when he so breathlessly insisted? 'Melibœus,
 whilst others busy them with learning laws for pleading,
 after year hath Mopsus given him to the Aonian
 grove, and hath grown all pale under the shadow of its ³⁰
 grove. Drenched with the bard-making waters, his
 full of the milk of song, full even to the palate—
 summons me to receive the leaves that sprang forth
 when the Peneid was transformed.' 'What wilt thou do?'
 saith Melibœus, 'wilt thou forever wear thy temples
 unadorned with laurel, a shepherd on the pasture lands?' ³⁵
 'O Melibœus, the glory, nay the very name of bard has
 vanished into air. The muse hath taxed her power to
 give us vigil-keeping Mopsus,' I had replied, when thus
 did indignation give me voice: 'What were the bleatings
 to which hills and pastures would echo, were I to raise the
 pæan on my lyre, with locks entwined with green!—But ⁴⁰
 let me dread the groves and country-sides that know not the
 gods. Were it not better done to trim my locks in triumph,
 and that I, who erst was auburn, should hide them, hoary
 now, under the twined leaves when, if so be, I come again
 to my ancestral Sarnus?' And he: 'Who should doubt
 that? But, Tityrus, see how swift time passes by! Already ⁴⁵
 the goats grow old, to whose mothers, ere they conceived
 them, we united the he-goats.' Then I: 'When the bodies
 that flow round the world, and they that dwell among the
 stars, shall be shown forth in my song, even as the lower
 realms, then shall I joy to bind my brow with ivy and ⁵⁰
 with laurel, if Mopsus will allow.' 'Why, what of Mopsus?'

insonnem; P, *insonem*; G, *insontem*; E, *insonnem*. 38. P, *vorsum*. 43. GE,
primo [?]. 46. E, *sonuere*. 47. G, *conceptivas*. 49. G, *astricolisque*. 50. M,
devincere. 51. G, *illi*.

Scholia, p. 22a.

‘Comica nonne vides ipsum reprehendere verba,
 tum quia femineo resonant ut trita labello
 tum quia Castalias pudet acceptare sorores?’
 Ipse ego respondi; versus iterumque relegi [55]
 Mopse tuos.

Tunc ille humeros contraxit, et ‘Ergo
 quid faciemus’ ait ‘Mopsum revocare volentes?’

‘Est mecum quam nosis ovis gratissima’ dixi,
 ubera vix quæ ferre potest, tam lactis abundans.
 Rupe sub ingenti carptas modo ruminat herbas. [60]
 Nulli juncta gregi nullis assuetaque caulis
 sponte venire solet nunquam vi poscere mulctram.
 Hanc ego præstolor manibus mulgere paratus;
 hac implebo decem missurus vascula Mopso.
 Tu tamen interdum capros meditare petulcos [65]
 et duris crustis discas infigere dentes.’

Talia sub quercu Melibœus et ipse canebam
 parva tabernacula nobis dum farra coquebant.

MSS. M_1M_2 PGE.—52. P, *reprehendere*; E, *imprendere*. 53. M_2 , *Tunc*,
 corrected to *tum*. M_1 , *utrita*; M_2 , *atrita*; E, *ut tula* [?]. 54. M_1 ,
sorore, corrected to *sorores*. 56. GE, omit *tunc*. 57. G, *volentem*,
 corrected to *volentes*. 58. GE, *est mihi*. 59. E omits *quæ*. 60. M_1 , *cartas*,
 with a *p* written above the line by another hand, and marked for

he replied. 'Seest thou not how he blames the words of Comedy, in that they sound all trite on women's lips, and the Castalian sisters think scorn to accept them?' So did I answer him; and once again I read thy verses, Mopsus. 55 Whereon he shrugged his shoulders and replied: 'What then to do, would we win Mopsus to our side?' 'I have,' said I, 'one sheep, thou knowest, most loved; so full of milk she scarce may bear her udders; even now under a mighty rock she chews the late-cropped grass; associate 60 with no flock, familiar with no pen; of her own will she ever comes, ne'er must be driven to the milking-pail. Her do I think to milk with ready hands; from her ten measures will I fill and send to Mopsus. Do thou meanwhile think on thy wanton goats, and learn to ply thy 65 teeth on stubborn crusts.'

Commentary,
p. 228.

Such strains under an oak did I and Melibœus sing, the whilst our little hut was cooking our barley.

insertion; GE, *captas*. 61. G omits *que*. 63. M, *prestolor et manibus*. 65. G apparently had *petulos*; a corrector added *cos*, making *petuloscos*, and then crossed out the *oc* instead of only the *os*, thus leaving *petulos* after all. 66. G omits this line; E, *infringere*. 68. GE, *dum nobis*; E, *coquebat*.

III. Giovanni del Virgilio to

ARGUMENT—Giovanni, adopting Dante's pastoral cipher, tells how, as he was feeding his flocks at Bologna, Dante's song came borne on the East Wind from Ravenna (1-17); and was heard no less in Arcady, renewing the long forgotten delights of the dwellers therein (18-25). Catching the pastoral inspiration, he too returns the strain (26-32); addresses Dante as a reincarnation of Virgil (33-35), fervently joins in the hope that he may be crowned by the repentant Florence (36-46), but meanwhile presses him to visit him at Bologna, and promises him every honour and delight (47-71). Nor need he fear any danger

Scholia, p. 295.

Forte sub irriguis colles ubi Sarpina Rheno
 obvia fit, viridi niveos interlita crines
 nympha procax, fueram nativo conditus antro.
 Frondentes ripas tondebant sponte juvenci,
 mollia carpebant agnæ, dumosa capellæ. [5]
 Quid facerem? nam solus eram puer incola silvæ.
 Irruerant alii causis adigentibus urbem;
 nec tum Nisa mihi nec respondebat Alexis
 suetus uterque comes: calamos moderabar hydraules
 falce recurvello, cunctæ solamina, quando [10]
 litoris Adriaci resonantem Tityron umbra,
 qua densæ longo pretextunt ordine pinus
 pascua, porrectæ celo genioque locali,
 alida mirtetis et humi florentibus herbis,
 quaque nec arentes Aries fluvialis arenas [15]
 esse sinit molli dum postulat equora villo,
 retulit ipse mihi flantis leve sibilus Euri;

MSS. $M_1 M_2$ PGM.—1. *o*, initial *F* not filled in, also *sarpia*. 7. *æ*, *canis*. 8. *E*, *tu*. GE, *uisa*. M_1 , *spondebat*; a later hand has written *re* above the line and marked it for insertion. 10. M_1 , *cuncte*; a later hand has written *c* above the line and marked it for insertion; M_2 , *cum te*; P read *cu* and left a space, which a late hand has filled in with *m te*, making *cum te*. 11. M_1 read *umbra*; another hand (not Boccaccio's and not the

Dante Alighieri. Del Virgilio's Eclogue I.

(72-76); nor yet despise the rustic entertainment offered him (77-79). Here Giovanni breaks off into a rebuke of his own presumption in thinking he can offer Dante anything that will tempt him away from the more splendid hospitality of Guido (80-83), but excuses it on the score of his uncontrollable love and admiration (83-87); and supplements the poor attractions he has offered by the prospect of a meeting with Mussato (88-89). On this his affairs call him away and as he is diffidently contemplating a further exchange of poems with Dante his companions return (90-97).

It chanced, beneath the well-watered slopes where
 Sarpina, entwined with green about her snowy locks, a
 sportive nymph, encounters Rhenus, I was ensconced within
 my native grot. The kine were shearing at their ease the
 grassy banks, the lambs cropping the soft, the goats the
 brambly spots. What should I do? For I was the only 5
 swain then lingering in the wood. The rest had hastened
 citywards summoned by their affairs; nor then was Nisa nor
 Alexis (a wonted comrade each) there answering me. I
 was shaping water-reeds with the curved hook, in solace of
 my leisure, when the song that Tityrus was singing beneath 10
 the shade of the Adriatic shore,—where the thick pine
 woods reaching up to heaven and the genius of the place,
 fringe in long row the pasture lands, redolent with myrtle
 groves and low-flowering herbs; and where the streaming
 Aries suffers not the very sands to parch, as with lush 15
 fleece he seeks the ocean,—came wafted spontaneously to

Commentary,
 p. 229.

scholiast's) added an *m*, closely resembling the original writing, in good ink, making *umbram*; a still later hand marked the *m* for omission *m̄*, and a yet later hand erased it; *g*, *umbram*. 12. *m*₁ read *qua*; a later hand (not Boccaccio's nor the scholiast's) added the sign for *m*; *m̄*, *Quam*. *g*, *pretexti*. 13. *m*₂, *porrecto*. 16. *m*₁ omits *postulat*, which is added by a later hand. *z*, *nilo*.

Scholia, p. 296. quo vocalis odor per Mænala celsa profusus
 balsamat auditus et lac distillat in ora;
 quale nec a longo meminerunt tempore mulsum [20]
 custodes gregium quamquam tamen Arcades omnes.

Arcades exultant audito carmine nymphæ
 pastoresque boves et oves hirtæque capellæ
 arrectisque onagri decursant auribus ipsi,
 ipsi etiam Fauni saliunt de colle Lycæi. [25]

Et mecum 'Si cantat oves et Tityrus hircos
 aut armenta trahit, quia nam civile canebas
 urbe sedens carmen, quando hoc Benacia quondam
 pastorale sonans detrivit fistula labrum?
 Audiat in silvis et te cantare bubulcum.' [30]

Nec mora depostis calamis majoribus inter
 arripio tenues et labris flantibus hisco:
 'Ha divine senex, ha sic eris alter ab illo!
 Alter es aut idem Samio si credere vati
 sic liceat Mopso, sic et liceat Melibœo. [35]

Eheu pulvereo quod stes in tegmine scabro
 et merito indignans singultes pascua Sarni
 rapta tuis gregibus, ingrata dedecus urbi,
 humectare genas lacrimarum flumine Mopso
 parce tuo, nec te crucia crudelis et illum [40]
 cujus amor tantum tantum conplectitur inquam
 jam te blande senex quanto circumligat ulmum
 proceram vitis per centum vincula nexu.
 O si quando sacros iterum flavescere canos
 fonte tuo videas et ab ipsa Phillide pexos [45]
 quam visando tuas tegetes miraberis uvas!

Ast inter medium pariat ne tedia tempus
 letitiæ spectare potes quibus otior antris

MSS. M_1M_2PGE .—18. M_2 , *olor*, corrected to *odor*. 21. M_1 , the scholiast notes *pecudum* as a variant to *gregium*; M_2 , *pecudum*; PG , *gregum*. 22. M_1 , the scholiast notes *te* [i.e. *audita*] as a variant to *audita*. 24. GE , *decurreunt*. 27. M_2 , *quia non*; E , *quoniam*. 28. G , *inornata*; E , *bernatia*. 33. M_1 , *Hic*, corrected to *Ha* by marking *ic* for omission and writing *a* above; M_2 now reads *Åh*, but apparently originally

me by the whispering of light-blowing Eurus; that
 whispering whereat the fragrance of song, pouring
 through the lofty Mænalus, soothes the hearing and
 drops milk into the mouth; such sweet draught as the
 guardians of the flocks mind not since long, Arcadians 20
 though they be all. The nymphs of Arcady exult to hear
 the song, and shepherds, oxen, sheep, and shaggy goats;
 and even the wild asses rush down with pricking ears and
 the very Fauns leap down from mount Lycæus. And to 25
 myself: 'If Tityrus sings of sheep and goats, or draws the
 herds in song, why didst thou sing a city lay, sitting
 within the city,—since ere now the Benacian flute of
 pastoral sound hath worn this lip of thine? Let him hear
 thee too sing as a herdsman in the woodlands.' And with- 30
 out more delay, casting the greater reeds aside, I seize the
 slender ones and part my lips to blow: 'Ah, divine old
 man, thus shalt thou be second from him,—second thou art,
 or art himself if Mopsus, and if Melibœus with him, may
 so far trust the Samian bard. Ah me! for that thou 35
 should'st hide under a foul and crumbling roof, and right-
 fully indignant should'st sigh for the pastures of Sarnus
 torn from thy flocks (shame to the ungrateful city!), spare
 to wet thy Mopsus' cheeks with floods of tears; nor
 cruelly torment both him and thee,—him whose love now 40
 clasps thee, yea, so clasps, benign old man, as doth the vine,
 with hundred links entwine the lofty elm in her embrace.
 Oh shouldst thou ever see thy sacred hoary locks glow once
 again, mirrored in thine own stream, and decked by Phyllis' 45
 self, how wilt thou gaze wondering upon the grapes when
 thou visitest thy cot! But lest the time between should
 bring thee weariness, thou mayst look upon the grots of

Commentary,
p. 220.

Ha; P, Hic; E, Ah; also in the middle of the line M₂, ah over an original
 ha; PE, ah. 34. G, carmo. 35. M₂, Siliceat; M₁M₂PG, sicut; E, sic.
 36. M₂, Heu; P, Heu, with a second heu added later; GE, Heu heu.
 GE, pulvereus; M₂, sedes. 37. G, indignas singularis. 39. P, humectate.
 40. G, concia. 42. G, ulmi. 43. G, procera. 45. E, tuos. 46. PG, visendo;
 E, imas. 48. G, lente.

Scholia, p. 307. et mecum pausare. Simul cantabimus ambo;
 ipse levi calamo sed tu gravitate magistrum
 firmitus insinuans ne quem sua deserat ætas.

[50]

Ut venias locus ipse vocat; fons humidus intus
 antra rigat quæ saxa tegunt virgulta flabellant;
 circiter origanum redolet, quoque causa soporis
 herba papaveris est, oblivia qualiter aiunt
 grata creans; serpilli tibi substernit Alexis
 quem Corydon vocet ipse rogem; tibi Nisa lavabit
 ipsa pedes accincta libens cenamque parabit;
 Testilis hæc inter piperino pulvere fungos
 condiet et permixta doment multa allia si quos
 forsitan imprudens Melibœus legerit hortis.
 Ut comedas apium memorabunt mella susurri;
 poma leges, Nissæque genas equantia mandes
 pluraque servabis nimio defensa decore.
 Jamque super serpunt hederæ radicibus antrum
 sarta parata tibi; nulla est cessura voluptas.
 Huc ades, huc venient qui te pervisere gliscent
 Parrasii juvenesque senes, et carmina læti
 qui nova mirari cupiantque antiqua doceri.
 Hi tibi silvestres capreas, hi tergora lincum
 orbiculata ferent, tuus ut Melibœus amabat.

[55]

[60]

[65]

[70]

Huc ades et nostros timeas ne Tityre saltus;
 namque fidem celæ concusso vertice pinus
 glandiferæque etiam quercusque arbusta dedere.
 Non hic insidiæ non hic injuria quantas
 esse putes; non ipse mihi te fidis amanti?
 Sunt forsitan mea regna tibi despecta; sed ipsi
 di non erubuere cavis habitare sub antris,

[75]

MSS. M₁M₂PGE.—49. E inserts *velis* between *pausare* and *simul*. 51. M₁, *firmus*, corrected by marking an i for insertion. 52. G, *foris*. 55. E omits *est*. 57. G, *roget*, also *trusa*. M₁E, *lavabit*. 58. M₁, the *b* of *libens* has perished, and the *e* is damaged. 59. M₁, see pp. 277, 297. G, *pipino*. 60. G, *domet*. 61. M₁, *ortus*, corrected to *ortis* by marking the second stroke of *u* for

pleasaunce wherein I am at ease, and mayst have rest with
 me. We both will sing together, I with light reed and thou
 gravely displaying with firmer touch the master-hand, that 50
 each one may observe his age. The very place inviteth thee
 to come; a flowing spring within waters the grot rock-fenced
 and fanned by wands; sweet marjoram scents it around,
 and for sleep's sake the poppy-plant is there, creating 55
 as they say, oblivion sweet. Alexis shall spread wild
 thyme to be thy couch, for I myself would bid Corydon
 summon him. Nisa herself shall gladly gird her to wash
 thy feet and shall prepare thy meal, while Testilis shall
 dress with pounded pepper the mushrooms, and many a
 shred of mingled garlic may avert the harm, if Melibœus 60
 have been careless as he culled them in the orchards. The
 murmuring of the bees shall move thine appetite for
 honey; apples shalt thou pluck and shalt eat of such as
 rival Nisa's cheeks; and many another shalt thou keep
 protected by exceeding beauty; and already is the ivy
 o'er-creeping with its roots the grotto, with garlands all in 65
 readiness for thee. No pleasure shall be lacking. Hither
 come! Hither shall come Parrhasian swains, both old and
 young, who long to see thee; and hither all who be fain
 to hear new songs to marvel at, and to be taught the old.
 They shall bring woodland roes to thee and spotted hides 70
 of lynxes, as was thy Melibœus' wont. Come hither, and
 fear not our groves O Tityrus! For the lofty pines, bowing
 their heads together, and acorn-bearing oaks and every
 shrub, have given thee their pledge. Here are no snares,
 no wrong to fear such as thou deemest. Wilt thou not 75
 trust thyself to me who love thee? Or are my realms
 perchance despised of thee? Yet even very gods have not
 blushed to dwell in hollow caves; witness Achilles' Chiron

omission. 62. *g, sua debent*. 63. *g, usque*, also *aquantia*. 67. *E, veniunt*.
 68. *P, Parnassii*; *M₁, senex*; *M₂, senesque*. 71. *g, aut*. 72. *M₁* adds *que*
 above the line, marked for insertion after *ne*; *M₂POE, neque*. 76. *M₂,*
michi ipse. 77. *g, et ipse*; *E, si ipsi*. 78. *P, non erubescere dei cavis*.

Scholia, p. 298. testis Achilleus Chiron et pastor Apollo.'

—Mopse quid es demens? quia non permittet Iolas [80]
comis et urbanus dum sunt tua rustica dona;
iisque tabernaculis non est modo tutius antrum,
quis potius ludat.

Sed te quis mentis anhelum
ardor agit vel quæ pedibus nova nata cupido?
Miratur puerum virgo puer ipse volucrem [85]
et volucris silvas et silvæ flamina verna.
Tityre te Mopsus; miratio gignit amorem.

Me contemne, sitim Frigio Musone levabo;
scilicet hoc nescis, fluvio portabor avito.

Quid tamen interea mugit mea bucula circum? [90]
Quadrifluumne gravat coxis umentibus uber?
Sic reor, en propero situlas implere capaces
lacte novo quo dura queant mollescere crusta.
Ad multrale veni, si tot mandabimus illi
vascula quot nobis promisit Tityrus ipse. [95]
Sed lac pastori fors est mandare superbum.

Dum loquor en comites, et sol de monte rotabat.

MSS. M_1M_2 PGE.—79. G, *Testis achille chiron testis et pastor apollo.* 80. R, *Pastor quid es*; the *es* afterwards changed to *est*. 82. M_2 GE, *Hisque.* R, *tabernalis*. 83. M_1 , *laudat*, the *a* marked for omission; P, *laudat*. G, *sed quis quoque*. 85. G, *puer*. 88. P, *musone levabo phrygio*; G omits

and pastoral Apollo!—Ah Mopsus! how art thou raving? In sooth Iolas will not suffer it. Courteous and with city-ways is he, whilst thy gifts are but rustic; and no cave is safer now than are those tabernacles; wherein let him have leave to sport. But what this passion of mind that drives thee panting forward? What this new yearning mastering thy feet? The girl admiring, looks upon the swain, the swain himself upon a bird, the bird upon the woods, the woods upon the breath of spring, Mopsus, O Tityrus, upon thee. 'Tis admiration that gives birth to love. Yet scorn me if thou wilt! Thy thirst will I allay with Phrygian Muso; whilst I myself (thou know'st not this, I take it) shall be borne on my ancestral stream.

Commentary
p. 234.

But wherefore doth my heifer low around, the while? Doth her four-streaming udder weigh her down, with moistened thighs? I think it. See I haste to fill capacious pails with the new milk, wherein hard crusts may soften. Come to the milk-pail! What if I send as many vessels full to him as Tityrus' self hath promised me. Yet may it not perchance seem insolent to send a shepherd milk? The whilst I speak behold my comrades, and from the mount the sun was rolling down.

the end of the line *musone levabo*. 89. G omits the beginning of the line *scilicet hoc nescis furio*. M₁, the *r* of *portabor* has perished; M₂FG, *potabor*. 90. E, *ceruum*. 91. GE, *ue*. G, *umbo*. 93. G, *crustra*. 94. F, *multrare*. G omits the line.

IV. Dante Alighieri to Giovanni

ARGUMENT—The writer, preserving the pastoral cipher (and complicating it by Sicilian designations of places in northern Italy), relates how Dante was conversing with a friend as to Giovanni's strange choice of a place of abode (1-27) when a younger companion, in breathless haste and excitement, joined them, holding in his hand a flute which, when blown upon, uttered of itself the ninety-seven verses of Giovanni's poem (28-43). Dante's companion, alarmed lest he should accept Giovanni's invitation, implored him to remain with

Scholia, p. 300.

Velleribus Colchis præpes detectus Eous
alipedesque alii pulcrum Titana ferebant;
orbita qua primum flecti de culmine cepit
currigerum cantum libratim quemque tenebat;
resque refulgentes solitæ superarier umbris [5]
vincebant umbras et fervere rura sinebant.

Tityrus hoc propter confugit et Alpheisibœus
ad silvam, pecudumque suique misertus uterque,
fraxineam silvam tiliis platanisque frequentem;
et dum silvestri pecudes mixtæque capellæ [10]
insidunt herbæ, dum naribus aera captant,
Tityrus hic annosus enim defensus acerna
fronde soporifero gravis incumbibat odori;
nodosoque piri vulso de stirpe bacillo
stabat subnixus, ut diceret, Alpheisibœus. [15]

'Quod mentes hominum' fabatur 'ad astra ferantur
unde fuere novæ cum corpora nostra subirent,
quod libeat niveis avibus resonare Caystrum
temperie cæli lætis et valle palustri,
quod pisces coeant pelagi pelagusque relinquant [20]

MSS. M₁M₂PGE.—1. G, the initial V not filled in. 2. G, *plerumque*. 4. P, *crurigerum*, corrected to *currigerum*; G, *crurigerum*. E, *quaque*. 5. G, *refligentes*. 7. M₁, *hoc*, corrected by an e written above; G, *hæc*; E, *hec*.

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those who loved him so faithfully, and warned him against the dangers of putting himself into the power of "Polyphemus" (44-62); to which Dante replies that his friend Giovanni is ignorant from what joys he is calling him, but that he would nevertheless make the journey, for love of him, did he not in truth fear the enmity of "Polyphemus" (63-75); which theme is further developed by the two friends till evening begins to fall (76-94); the whole conversation being overheard and reported by Guido of Polenta (95-97).

Stripped of the Colchian fleece, dashing Eous and the other winged steeds were bearing lovely Titan; the course at the point where it first begins to slope down from the summit was holding either chariot-bearing wheel in poise, and things that catch the sun, but now outstripped by their shadows, excelled their shadows and let the country burn. Tityrus therefore withdrew with Alpheisibœus to the grove—each taking pity on his flocks and on himself,—the grove of ash with many a linden and plane intermixed; and whilst the flocks, with goats between, settled upon the woodland grass and with wide nostril sniffed the air, Tityrus, for he was stricken in years, shading himself with maple-leaves, stretched him there upon the ground, heavy with the sleep-inducing fragrance; the whilst Alpheisibœus, leaning upon a knotted staff torn from a pear-tree's stock, was standing up to speak. 'That the minds of men,' he said, 'are borne up to the stars, whence they were freshly come when they took up their abode in our bodies; that the snow-white birds delight to wake the echoes round Cayster, exulting in the congenial climate and the plashy

Comment
p. 23

8. *G*, *sui misertus*. 9. *E*, *Frameam*. 11. *M*, *aerea*. 13. *M*, *sopifero*, with or over the line marked for insertion. 14. *M*, the *d* of *de* has perished. 16. *E*, *Qui*. 18. *E*, *Qui*. 20. *E*, *Qua*, also *relinquat*.

Scholia p. 301. flumina qua primum Nerei confinia tangunt,
 Caucason Hyrcaniæ maculent quod sanguine tigres
 et Libyes coluber quod squama verrat arenas,
 non miror nam cuique placent conformia vitæ
 Tityre: sed Mopso miror mirantur et omnes [25]
 pastores alii mecum Sicula arva tenentes
 arida Cycloppum placeant quod saxa sub Ætna.'

Dixerat, et calidus et gutture tardus anhelò
 jam Melibœus adest, et vix 'En Tityre' dixit.
 Irrisere senes juvenilia guttura quantum [30]
 Sergestum e scopulo vulsum risere Sicani.
 Tum senior viridi canum de cespite crinem
 sustulit et patulis efflanti naribus infit:
 'O nimium juvenis quæ te nova causa coegit
 pectoreos cursu rapido sic angere folles?' [35]
 Ille nihil contra, sed quam tunc ipse tenebat
 cannea cum tremulis conjuncta est fistula labris
 sibilus hinc simplex avidas non venit ad aures
 verum ut arundinea puer is pro voce laborat
 (mira loquar sed vera tamen) spiravit arundo [40]
Forte sub irriguos colles ubi Sarpina Rheno
et tria si flasset ultra spiramina flata
centum carminibus tacitos mulcebat agrestes.

Tityrus et secum conceperat Alpheisibœus
 Tityron et voces compellant Alpheisibœi: [45]
 'Sic venerande senex tu roscida rura Pelori
 deserere auderes, antrum Cycloppis iturus?'

Ille 'Quid hoc dubitas? quid me carissime tentas?'

MSS. M₁M₂PGE.—22. G, *maculat*; E, *maculant*. 23. GE, *verat*. 24. E omits the *que* of *cuique*. 27. E, *A ripa*. 30. M₁, *senex*, the *x* marked for omission, and *s* written above it. 31. M₁, originally omitted the *e*. It has been added by an early (?) hand, not the scholiast's, possibly Boccaccio's. 33. E, *et flanti*. G, *inquit*; E, *inquit*, with *fit* written above the line, making *infit*. 35. E, *soles*. 36. G omits the line. E, *quantum ipse cogebat*, with *tene*

vale; that the fishes of the sea draw together and quit the sea just where the rivers touch the domain of Nereus; that Hircanian tigers spot Caucasus with blood and that the adder sweeps with its scales the sands of Libya I marvel not, for Tityrus, the things conformable to its own life give unto each delight. But marvel do I, and marvel all the swains that hold with me Sicilian pastures, that Mopsus finds 25 delight in the parched rocks of the Cyclopes under Etna.' He had said; when hot, and fast as his panting throat would suffer him, approaches Melibœus and scarce could gasp 'Look Tityrus!' The elders laughed at their panting junior as heartily as the Sicanians laughed at Sergestus 30 when torn from his rock. Then the old sire raised his hoary locks from the green turf, and while the other was still puffing with distended nostrils, begins: 'What strange cause then hath made thee in very wantonness of youth thus strain the bellows of thy breast with rapid course?' 35 He answers naught, but when the reedy flute which his hand was grasping was placed against his trembling lips, no simple note assailed our greedy ears, but as the lad labours to give the reed a voice (strange things I am about to tell, but true), the reed breathed forth: *It chanced 40 beneath the well-watered slopes where Sarpina entwined with green*, and had it breathed out three more breaths than were breathed in, it would have soothed the spell-bound swains with a hundred verses. Tityrus perceived, and in like manner Alpheusibœus too; and the words of 45 Alpheusibœus addressed Tityrus: 'Old venerated sire, wouldst thou dare thus to desert the dewy pastures of Pelorus and enter the Cyclops' cave?' Whereat he: 'Why dost thou fear it, dearest friend? Why dost thou try

written over the *cog*. 37. G omits the line. 40. M₂ repeats *loquar*; the second time it is crossed out in red ink. 41. G, *sarpia*. 42. M₂, *triam*. E, *statu*. 44. G, *concepit*. 45. P, *compellat*; G, *oppellat*. 46. G, *isra*. 47. PE, *Desere*. E leaves a blank space for *auderes*. 48. M₁, the o of *hoc* marked for omission and e written above. M₂ originally read *quid carissime*, and now has *iam* above the line, marked for insertion after *quid*.

Scholia, p. 302.

'Quid dubito? quid tento?' refert tunc Alpheſibœus,
 'Tibia non ſentis quod ſit virtute canora [50]
 numinis? et ſimilis natis de murmure cannis
 (murmure pandenti turpiſſima tempora regis
 qui jussu Bromii Pactolida tinxit arenam)
 quod vocet ad litus Ætnæo pumice tectum?
 Fortunate ſenex falſo ne crede favori, [55]
 et Driadum miſerere loci pecorumque tuorum.
 Te jūga te ſaltus noſtri te flumina flebunt
 abſentem et nymphæ mecum pejora timentes,
 et cadet invidia quam nunc habet ipſe Pachynus;
 nos quoque paſtores te cognoviſſe pigebit; [60]
 fortunate ſenex fontes et pabula nota
 deſertare tuo vivaci nomine noliſ.'

'O plus quam media merito pars pectoris hujus
 (atque ſuum tetigit) longevus Tityrus inquit,
 'Mopſus amore pari mecum connexus ob illas [65]
 quæ male gliſcentem timidæ fugere Pyreneum,
 litora dextra Pado ratus a Rubicone ſiniſtra
 me colere Emilida qua terminat Adria terram,
 litoris Ætnæi commendat paſcua nobis,
 nescius in tenera quod nos duo degimus herba [70]
 Trinacridæ montis quo non fecundius alter
 montibus in Siculis pecudes armentaque pavit.
 Sed quamquam viridi ſint poſtponenda Pelori
 Ætnica ſaxa ſolo Mopſum viſurus adirem
 hic grege dimiſſo ni te Polipheme timerem.' [75]

'Quis Poliphemon' ait 'non horreat' Alpheſibœus
 'aſſuetum rictus humano ſanguine tinguī
 tempore jam ex illo quando Galatea relictī
 Acidis heu miſeri diſcerpere viſcera vidit;
 vix illa evaſit. An viſ valuisset amoris [80]

MSS. M₁M₂PGE.—49. G, *reſpondet alpheſibœus*. 51. E, *numine* [for *murmure*].
 52. E, *numine*. 53. E, *jussa*, alſo *pactolia*, alſo *arena*. 54. P, *Quo*. M₁,
ethnee; M₂, *ethnea*; P, *etnee*. G, *tecti*. 62. M₁, *noliſ*, corrected to *noliſ*;
 E, *nobia*. 64. E, *longevum*. 65. M₂P, *connexus*. 67. G omits the line. 68. G,
me coler. 69. P omits the later part of this line *commendat paſcua nobis*.

me?' 'Why do I fear? Why do I try thee?' then answers Alpheisibœus, 'Dost thou not perceive that the flute is vocal by power of the Deity and is like unto the reeds 50 that sprang from the whispering, the whispering that revealed the hideous temples of the king who at Bromius' command tinctured the sands of Pactolus? But though it summon thee to the shore covered with Etna's pumice, O blessed old sire, trust not the treacherous favour, but have 55 pity on the Dryads of this place and on thy flocks. Thee in thine absence will our mountain regions and our glades, thee will our rivers weep; and the nymphs, fearing with me the worser fates; and the envy which that Pachynus now nurses will fall away, and we shepherds shall wish that we had never known thee. O blessed old 60 sire, desert not the fountains and the pastures known by thy living name!' 'O rightly more than a half part of this my breast,' (touching his own), the aged Tityrus cries, 'Mopsus—linked in mutual love with me for their sakes 65 who fled in fear from the ill desires of Pyreneus,—deeming that I dwell on the shores right of Po and left of Rubicon, where the Adriatic bounds the Emilian land, commends to us the pastures of Etna's shore, ignorant that we two linger on the soft grass of a Trinacrian mount than which no 70 other of Sicilian mountains has given richer pasturage to flocks and herds. Yet albeit the rocks of Etna are to be less desired than the green soil of Pelorus, I would approach them to visit Mopsus, leaving here my flock, did I not fear thee, Polyphemus!' 'Who would not shudder at Poly- 75 phemus,' replies Alpheisibœus, 'wont as he is to dye his jaws in human blood; since what time Galatea beheld him tear the flesh of poor deserted Acis. Scarce herself escaped. Would love's might have kept its hold when the mad 80

Commentary,
p. 241.

70. P omits the opening of the line *neocius in tenera*; a, *interna*; also *degi*, with a doubtful mark of contraction. 71. P, *Trinacriæ*. M₁, *quod* corrected to *quo*. 73. M, *peloro*, the o marked for omission and crossed out, i written above. 75. M₁, *inte*; M, *nisi te*. 76. a, *poliphemus*. 78. a, *relictis*. 79. a, *Alcidis*. 80. M₁, *vir* in the middle of the line. a, *violasset* (?).

icholia, p. 202. effera dum rabies tanta perferbuit ira?

Quid quod Achemenides sociorum cede cruentum
 tantum prospiciens animam vix claudere quivit?
 Ha mea vita precor nunquam tam dira voluptas
 te premat ut Rhenus et Naias illa recludat [85]
 hoc illustre caput, cui jam frondator in alta
 virgine perpetuas festinat cernere frondea.'

Tityrus arridens et tota mente secundus
 verba gregis magni tacitus concepit alumni;
 sed quia tam proni scindebant æthra jugales [90]
 ut rem quamque sua jam multum vinceret umbra,
 virgiferi silvis gelida cum valle relictis
 post pecudes rediere suas, hirtæque capellæ
 inde velut reduces ad mollia prata preibant.

Callidus interea juxta latitavit Iolas [95]
 omnia qui didicit qui retulit omnia nobis.
 Ille quidem nobis et nos tibi Mopse poimus.

MSS. M₁M₂PE.—81. E, *rabico*; M₁, read *perferuuit*, corrected by a late (?) hand to *perferbuit*; M₂, *perferuuit*; G, *perferruit*. 83. M₂, *respiciens*. 84. M₂, *Ah* substituted for an original *ha*; PE, *Ah*. 85. P, *promat*. 90. G,

frenzy boiled up in such wrath? And what of Achemenides, who only looking on him, gory with the slaughter of his comrades, could scarce keep the breath within his body? Ah, my life, I pray that so dire a longing never may assail thee as that Renus and the Naiad there should enclose this 85 illustrious head, for which the pruner is impatient to select unwithering leaves from the exalted virgin.'

Commentary,
p. 242.

Tityrus smiling assents, and with all his heart agreeing received in silence the words of the great fosterling of the flock. But inasmuch as the yoke-horses were cleaving the 90 ether so prone that the shadow of each thing already stretched out longer far than the thing's self, the crook-bearers leaving the woods and the cool vale returned after their flocks; and the shaggy goats like home-comers took the lead thence to the soft pastures. Meantime the wily Iolas lay hiding close at hand; who heard it all, and told 95 it all to us. He made the tale for us, and we, Mopsus, for thee.

proprii. 91. G omits *rem*, and reads *quenque*. 92. M₂, *Virgiferis*; P, *conuallæ*.
93. GE, *Ad*. 94. GE, *Ad*; E, *proibant*.

V. Lines by Giovanni del Virgilio intended

ARGUMENT—Dante, at once the most learned and the most popular of authors, lies here, but reaches Heaven and Hell in fame. In the vernacular and in Latin he assigned their places to defunct souls and their jurisdictions to the Temporal and Spiritual powers; and was

Theologus Dantes, nullius dogmatis expers
 quod foveat claro philosophia sinu,
 gloria musarum, vulgo gratissimus auctor,
 hic jacet et fama pulsat utrumque polum:
 qui loca defunctis gladiis regnumque gemellis
 distribuit laicis rhetoricisque modis.

[5]

Pascua Pieriis demum resonabat avenis;
 Atropos heu lætum livida rupit opus.
 Huic ingrata tulit tristem Florentia fructum
 exilium vati patria cruda suo;
 quem pia Guidonis gremio Ravenna Novelli
 gaudet honorati continuisse ducis.

[10]

Mille trecentenis ter septem Numinis annis
 ad sua Septembris idibus astra redit.

(Text after Macri-Leone.)

to stand as epitaph on Dante's tomb

overtaken by death when adding pastoral songs to his other utterances. Ungrateful Florence rejected and hospitable Ravenna welcomed him. He died on September 14th, 1321.

Dante, the theologian, skilled in every branch of knowledge that philosophy may cherish in her illustrious bosom, glory of the muses, author most acceptable to the vulgar, here lieth and smiteth either pole with his fame; who assigned their places to the defunct and their respective sway to the twin swords, in laic and rhetoric fashion. 5
 Lastly he was singing pastoral songs on the Pierian pipes; envious Atropos, alas, broke off the work of joy. To him ungrateful Florence bore the bitter fruit of exile, fatherland cruel to her bard; whom pitying Ravenna rejoices to 10
 have received in the bosom of Guido Novello her honoured chief. In the years of the Deity one thousand three times a hundred and three times seven on September's ides to his own stars did he return.

Commentary,
p. 243.

VI. Giovanni del Virgilio

ARGUMENT—Giovanni begs Albertino to receive propitiously a pastoral song, such as he had erst interchanged with Dante (1-13). Writing from Cesena he tells, in cipher, how he and Rinaldo dei Cenci persuaded a certain Duccio to sing his fatuous love song for their disport (14-53); which song he reports at length (54-94). The two friends bestowed mocking laudations on Duccio's song, and Rinaldo declared that not Mussato himself could excel it; which assertion introduced a conversation about Mussato (95-103). Giovanni told how he had once seen him in Bologna, whither he came to seek aid for his afflicted city against Can Grande (104-132); how he had recognized him at once by his inspired gesture and expression but had not dared to address him, having no means of worthily entertaining him (133-151). Whereupon Rinaldo assured him that he might have relied on any advances of his being graciously met by Mussato, who to his certain knowledge had long known and esteemed him as a poet (152-155). Then in answer to Giovanni's eager enquiries and adjurations he told how he had met Mussato when Podestà of Padua, how

Scholia, p. 305.

Tu modo pieriis vates redimite corimbis,
 cui pugnat patrio pro carmine vitifer Eugean,
 strataque Dardanii non murmurat unda Timavi,
 tale melos edit mellitis tibia labris,
 frontis inornatæ *Siculam* ne despice musam; [5]
 ludunt namque deæ quas fistula monte Pachyno
 per silvas Amarilli tuas Benacia duxit,
 fistula non posthac nostris inflata poetis
 donec ea mecum certaret Tityrus olim,
 Lydius Adriaco qui nunc in litore dormit, [10]
 qua *pineta* sacras prætexunt saltibus umbras
 quave Aries dulces exundat in equore lymphas;
 ludunt, et tali recreant mea pectora cantu.

MSS. M_1M_2 .—4. M_3 , *Tales*. 5. M_2 , *inornati*. M_1M_2 , *similem*. 8. M_2 , *potest* *hac*. 11. M_1M_2 , *pineta*.

to Albertino Mussato

he had spoken to him of Giovanni and had heard from his own lips how highly he thought of his claims to the poetic crown (156-189). Giovanni's enthusiasm, now raised to the highest point, renewed within him the longing and the hope of one day meeting Mussato and conversing with him face to face (190-199); Rinaldo urged him to anticipate the time by addressing Mussato in verse (200-204); and strove to overcome the diffidence that fought with his desire to act upon this hint (205-240); at which point Duccio was again drawn mockingly into the discourse (241-252). Giovanni now explains to Mussato that, in spite of all, he has long delayed to address him, because the unworthy conduct of Rinaldo has disgusted him with a poem in which that same Rinaldo is spoken of in terms of such affectionate regard. But now that Rinaldo has met his deserts, the poem is at last dispatched (253-274). Conceived in gladness and addressed to the illustrious citizen of Padua it may have some power, when sent forth in sadness, to console the exile (275-280).

Thou, with Pierian ivies crowned as now, bard, for whose
honour the vine-bearing Euganean contends, in meed of
the patriotic song, and at whose voice the wave of Dar-
danian Timavus lies level and murmurs not,—such a
strain does the flute give out from the honied lips,—scorn
not the Sicilian muse of an uncrowned brow; for those 5
goddesses are at sport whom the flute of Benacus drew
from Mount Pachynus through thy woods, Amarillis; the
flute never again breathed on by poets of our land till
erst thereon with me contended Tityrus, who sleepeth now,
Lydian though he be, on the Adriatic shore; where the 10
pine groves stretch their sacred shadows over the glades,
and where Aries pours sweet waters into the ocean. They
are at sport, and with such song as this they soothe my
breast.

Commentary,
p. 245.

Scholia, p. 206.

Sederat esculea pro tempore Daphnis in umbra,
ardentem levians Actæa virgine solem, [15]
qua de monte fluens rigat obvia pascua Sapis;
et Melibœus ibi jam non etate petulcus,
nec sibi nec capris revocato Daphnide anhelus,
immo tunc—bene pransus enim, ventremque repletus
ficubus, his et lacte, fabis quoque turgidus, uvis [20]
turgidus, et buccis *præstendens* orgia Bacchi—
pollice rhythmabat Venerem, projectus in herbis;
cujus ad ignotum stupuerunt buccera murmur
et circum querulæ ramis cecidere cicadæ.

Venerat huc Mœris, tum Daphnim amore videndi, [25]
dimissis pausare domi sub matribus hedis,
tum quia Minciades ipso resonante cicutas
jam sibi velle prius cognoscere dixerat ille.

Ergo ubi ramorum pariter se subdidit umbræ
sedit et ut pariter quo Daphnis in aggere sedit. [30]

Daphnis. 'Mœri,' refert Daphnis, 'cum digerat omnia
tempus,
dum ludunt hac ecce greges armentaque pausant,
dumque tuis teneri lactantur ovilibus agni,
auscultare sat est Melibœi carmen amantis;
inventumque novum et placidam mirabere vocem; [35]
quale melos Veneri decantat masculus anser.'

Melibœus. 'Non per Pana cano si tu mea carmina rides.'

Daph. 'Heus, ego riderem tua cantica mi Melibœe!
cantica digna deis Fauno Satirisque Priapo.
Quin age, namque placent, dic Mœris ut audiat illa, [40]
ne modo jam solum sese putat esse poetam.'

Mœris. 'Hunc ego Daphni scio jam carminis esse
magistrum.
Quis mihi quando aberas solatia fudit amoris?'

Daphnis, as the hour demanded, had seated him beneath the oaken shade, tempering the blazing sun with the 15 Actæan virgin, where, from the mountain flowing, Sapis bathes the pastures that she meets. Melibœus too was there, whose wantonness could now plead youth no longer; not this time out of breath with loud summoning of Daphnis to himself or to the goats, but rather—for he had dined well and was now stuffed with figs, with them and milk, bloated with beans, bloated with grapes, and betraying 20 Bacchic orgies with his cheeks—was beating the time of an amorous song with his thumb, stretched on the grass; at whose uncouth din the cattle stood amazed and all around the cicalas fell complaining from the twigs. Hither had Mœris come, partly for the pleasure of seeing 25 Daphnis (leaving his kids to rest at home beneath their mothers) and partly because, when he was sounding the Mincian flute the other had already told him that he fain would have cognizance of his song. Therefore, when he had in like manner betaken him to the shade of the branches, he sat him, as in manner like, upon the mound whereon sat Daphnis. 30

Daphnis. 'Mœris,' cried Daphnis, 'since time consumeth all things, whilst here the flocks are sporting and the herds are at rest, and whilst the tender lambs are suckled in thy folds, 'twere time well spent to hearken to the song of amorous Melibœus. Thou wilt admire both his strange invention and his pleasing voice,—such a strain as 35 the gander descanteth unto Venus.'

Melibœus. 'By Pan, I sing not if thou mock my songs!'

Daphnis. 'What! I scoff at thy songs, my Melibœus! Songs worthy of the gods,—Fauns, the Satyrs, Priapus. Nay, come (for they are pleasing) sing, that Mœris 40 may hear the strains, and not suppose himself the only poet.'

Mœris. 'Daphnis, I know him already to be a master of song. Who but he, when thou wast absent, poured forth to me love's consolations?'

Scholia, p. 306.

Mel. 'Sat magis ista tibi, prænuncio, Mœri placebunt,'
blæsus ait Melibœus. *Mœr.* Ad hoc 'Quis nesciat?'
ille [45]

'et nova grata magis et tu ingeniosior es nunc.
Cur non ergo canas? Odere silentia Musæ.'

Mel. 'Pars est facta mihi, pars indiget altera torno;
ni gravet expectare, simul cras omnia canto.'

Daph. 'Da nunc id quod habes, nec nos' ait 'affice'
Daphnis. [50]

'Et tu Mœri capax aperi modo pectoris antrum,
et nova Memphiticis intexto cantica biblis.

Dic Melibœe foras!' *Mel.* Tunc sic degutterat ille:

'Ægle grata mihi plusquam pastoribus umbræ
quam segetes ovibus quam prata virentia bobus [55]
quam salices capris quam flumina piscibus alta,
luc animæ, semper memor esto tui Melibœi!

En tibi sertâ paro, non omnibus orta puellis,
sed producta tuis solum, mea cura, capillis.

Scilicet his manibus septum tibi fecimus horti; [60]

hic regum flores, hic divum œvimus herbas;

namque tibi studeo, et pro te post omnia pono;

jam neque pastores dirimunt me iudice lites,

jamque Bianorei non audio vatis avenas;

pro te pecto comam, pro te mihi tondeo barbam; [65]

aspice depexos crines detonsaque menta!

aspice rugosum media sub fronte galerum!

aspice compositos, urorum tergora, soccos!

aspice num placeant quæ nunc tibi condita canto!

Miror si non dum merui tibi stulta placere. [70]

Pendent arma mihi, pendent vineta BISUSTA.

Heu! magis uror ego ne te mihi carpat Iolas;

aut quia tam vagula es, nisi quis Melibœus amatur.

MSS. M_1M_2 —45. M_2 , *Adhuc*. 50. M_2 , *Da nobis*. 51. M_1 has *nunc* between *aperi* and *modo*, but it is marked for omission. 57. M_1 , *exto*. 64. M_2 , *brianorei*. 66. M_2 , *detonsaque*. 68. M_2 has a mark of contraction over

Mel. 'I give you notice, Mœris, that what I now shall sing will please you more' said fatuous Melibœus. Comment
p. 24

Mœr. Thereto: 'Who would not be assured of it?' said 45 he. 'For, firstly, new songs always please the most, and then too thou art now of riper genius. Why then dost thou not sing? Silence the muses hate.'

Mel. 'Part I have done, but part still lacks the lathe. Unless it irk you to await, to-morrow all of it I sing together.'

Daphnis. 'Give us what you have now, nor thus distress 50 us,' Daphnis cried, 'And do thou Mœris open thy bosom's cavern vast and weave new songs upon Memphitic bark. Speak forth, O Melibœus!'

Melibœus. Then thus did he eruct:

Egle more pleasing to me than shades to shepherds, or than grass to sheep, than meadows green to oxen, than 55 willow twigs to goats, than rivers deep to fish; light of my mind, be ever mindful of thy Melibœus! Lo, for thee garlands I prepare, not sprung for every girl, but only reared for thine own locks, my care. Truly with these hands have I framed a garden-hedge for thee; there royal 60 flowers have we sown, and there the herbs of gods; for my study is all for thee, and for thy sake all things do I neglect; no longer do the shepherds settle their disputes with me for umpire; no longer do I listen to the pipe of Bianor's bard; for thee I comb my locks, for thee I trim 65 my beard. Look at my well-kempt curls and well-shorn chin! Look at my cap back folded on mid brow! Look at my sandals, hide of ox, well fitted! 'See if the verses conned for thee, which now I sing, are pleasing! I marvel if I have not yet deserved to pleasure thee, thou 70 witless one. My tools hang idle, my burnt-up vineyards droop. Oh, but yet more burn I lest Iolas snatch thee from me; or because thou art so fickle, unless a certain

the first r of *urorum* (making *ursorum*?), inserted, apparently, by a later hand. 71. *M*₁, *uisurata*; *M*₂, *uis ultra*.

Scholia, p. 206. *Ursus ovem laniat, portet lupus ore capellam,
devastet fera sæva bovem, fur se stabulo det,* [75]
latret immane melas, dum te conspexero dicam.
*Fauces namque tuæ sunt lilia candida rubris
mista rosis; morior, nec tu morientia curas;
tu mihi sæva secas precordia falce recurva,
tu vincolo laqueata tenes mea crura saligno,* [80]
tu mihi tu querno transfigis pectora palo.
*Ora tibi comedam fac te modo prendere possim;
at cur non possum? catulus venaticus assum;
tu quasi capreola es, lateas fugiasque licebit;* [84]
quid tibi nam super est? latebris me perfida ludis!
omnis amatori latitantem sibilat aura.
Circum te insidias, circum te retia tendam.
*At levis es pedibus? capitur quoque damula cursu;
tu quoque si fugias tandem capiere petulca.*
— *Pulcra quidem feci sed non modo pulcra recordor,* [90]
talia qui condo qui nil sapio Melibæus.'

Et simul hæc dicens, agitans caput ille manumque
credulus astat, humerisque in colla reductis
crispatisque genis risabat dentibus albis. [94]

Daph. 'Quid tibi' Daphnis ait 'de carmine Mœri
videtur?'

Mœr. 'Nunquam pulcra magis inclusit carmina cortex,
sive Paris sive Aonius descripsit Apollo.'

Daph. 'Nec tu Mœri quidem neque conderet Alphe-
sibæus
pulcra magis' Daphnis respondet, et 'O bene quando
venit ad os ultro quod præmeminisse volebam! [100]
Est an Mœri, refer, tibi cognitus Alpheisibæus
Dardanus, Euganeos demulcens carmine colles,
incinctus celebres hedera lauroque capillos?'

MSS. $\mathbf{M}_1, \mathbf{M}_2$. — 74. \mathbf{M}_1 , *laniat*, corrected to *laniat*, by marking *a* for omission and writing *e* above the line. 76. $\mathbf{M}_1, \mathbf{M}_2$, *latrat*. 101. \mathbf{M}_1 , *refert*.

Melibœus is thy love. Let the bear rend the sheep; let the wolf carry off the goat in his jaws; let the fierce beast of prey destroy the ox; let the thief slip into the fold; let the hound bay deep; and let me be poet so long as I shall gaze on thee. For thy cheeks are lilies white, with red roses mixed; I die, nor dost thou care for dying things. Thou, cruel one, dost carve my heart with a pruning-hook; thou dost hold my legs noosed in withy-bands; thou dost pierce my bosom with an oaken stake. I will eat up thy lips if only I may catch thee. And why may I not? I am close on thee like a hunting whelp; thou art as a kid, and thou hast free leave to hide and flee. For what resource is left thee? Dost thou mock me, faithless girl, with hiding? Every breeze whispers to the lover where the concealed one lurks. Around thee will I stretch my snares, my nets around thee. But thou art light of foot? Even the doe is caught by chasing, and thou too, wanton girl, flee though thou mayest, shalt yet be caught.—They were fine lines indeed I made, but I can not now recall them finely, I who weave such rhymes, I witless Melibœus.

Commentary
p. 250.

And as he said these words, agog with head and hand, he stood there credulous to please, and shrugging his shoulders on his neck, grinned with white teeth and puckered lips.

Daphnis. 'What deem you, Mœris, of the song?' said *Daphnis.*

Mœr. 'Never did bark of tree receive more beauteous lines, though Paris or Aonian Apollo carved them.'

Daphnis. 'Neither you, Mœris, nor Alpheſibœus e'er composed fairer lines,' *Daphnis* replied, and added: 'O 'tis well when that comes of itself to the lips which I was fain to recall. Tell me, Mœris, is Alpheſibœus known to thee? Dardanian Alpheſibœus, who soothes the Euganean hills with song, and whose illustrious locks are girt with ivy and with laurel?'

bolia, 'p. 297.

Mær. 'Daphni, sub Emilios colles ubi Sarpina Rheno
 pæne coit viridi glaucos licet oblita crines [105]
 nympha procax, ibam vicis natalibus errans
 cum Damone meo, nitidam ut si forte juvencam
 saltibus excitam quoquam stabulare daretur.
 Ecce dehinc versus prægrandia culmina villæ
 turba peregrinis peditans pastoria birris [110]
 ibat, et in magnis præeuntibus Alpheisibœus
 ora manusque movens oculosque. Ego cuncta notabam.
 Isto Daphni modo, non quo tuus hic Melibœus,
 hunc tibi tunc solum semel aspexisse recordor.' [114]

Daph. 'Et quid ad Emiliam commoverat Alpheisibœum?'

Mær. 'O quem non moveat turbatio facta parenti?
 Flebat anus Frigiæ, claris sata regibus olim,
 cum Canis ille ingens dotalia roderet ejus
 vastaret pecudes vastaret ovilia et ipsos [120]
 pastores ageret morsu crassanti trifauci.
 Ipsam quin etiam laceratis undique pannis
 cum vetulam artasset, trepidans, se includere septis,
 improbus ille tamen requiem potumque vetabat
 circiter obrigens et apertis faucibus instans.
 Ejulat illa tremens et siccis anxia labris [125]
 erugosa suis prætendens ubera natis
 rauca sonat, *Miseræ* clamans *succurrite matri!*
 Hi septi nec eam neque se defendere possunt.
 Alpheisibœus ob hoc fandi doctissimus horum
 venit et auxilium complorat arundine dulci, [130]
 carmine quo manes pro conjuge flexerat Orpheus,
 carmine quo querulum portavit Ariona delphin.'

Daph. 'An tibi quis primo monstraverat Alpheisibœum?'

Mær. 'Mira canam. Nondum quisquam mihi dixerat

Hic est

nec sua tunc mæstum prodebat laurea vatem. [135]
 Pana tibi testor Driadas pulcrasque Napæas,

MSS. $\mathbf{M}_1\mathbf{M}_2$ —110. \mathbf{M}_1 , *birtis*. 112. \mathbf{M}_2 , *notabam cuncta*, with notes added to signify that the order of the words is to be reversed.

Mær. 'Daphnis, beneath the Emilian hills where Sarpina
(a sportive nymph, though grey the locks which she en-
twines with green), all but unites with Rhenus, I wandered 105
through my native regions with my Damon, if perchance I
might find stabling for the heifer I had driven from the
glens; when lo, a shepherd band, with outland cloaks,
pacing towards the city's chiefest piles, and mid the 110
magnates at the head Alpheusibœus came with mobile
feature, hand and eye. Well did I note it all! After this
fashion, Daphnis (not as thy Melibœus here), that one and
only time (I put on record to thee) have I seen him.'

Commentary,
p. 250.

Daphnis. 'And what had moved Alpheusibœus towards 115
Emilia?'

Mær. 'Oh whom would not confusion wrought upon his
parent move? The ancient dame of Phrygia, sown of old
by glorious kings, was weeping; the whilst that huge Hound
was gnawing her dowry, devastating her flocks, wasting
her folds, and scattering the very shepherds with the
gripping worry of his triple jaw; nay, even when, running 120
full tilt, he had forced the ancient dame herself, with
garments all to-rent, to shut herself behind her barriers,
still did the wretch cut off her rest and ~~drink~~, baying
around and pressing on her with wide gaping jaws. She
trembling wailed, and with parched lips in ang^{ish} 125
pleading her wrinkled breasts, cried hoarsely to her sons,
exclaiming: *Succour your wretched mother!* But they,
hemmed in, might nor themselves nor her defend. There-
fore it was that Alpheusibœus, most skilled in speech of all,
came and implored for aid on that sweet reed, and in that 130
song wherewith Orpheus had bent the shades, pleading for
his wife, the song because of which the dolphin bore Arion
when he raised his lamentation.'

Daphnis. 'Had any first pointed out Alpheusibœus to
thee?'

Mær. 'Wonders shall I sing! Not yet had any said to
me: 'tis he, nor did his laurel wreath betray the bard, as 135
then; for he was mourning. Pan I call as witness, the

Scholia, p. 207. et si mentirer posset quoque dicere Damon,
vix bene cunctorum cum gestibus ora notaram
intima divino illuxit sapientia vultu.

Hic est, O Damon, en Dardanus Alpheisibæus, [140]
Alpheisibæus hic est inquam, simul indice tenso.'

Daph. 'Et quibus appellas tunc vocibus Alpheisibæum?'

Mæc. 'Pauperis hunc tiguri sub tecta vocare volebam
quando ibi castaneæ seu lac seu poma fuissent;
ast ea castaneis pomis et lacte carebant, [145]
nam mihi mercedem Bononia pacta tenebat
(sicut et hæc faciet nisi tu mihi Daphni favebis.
Stuppea non portabit *en* aspice perula nodum!)
tundereque hospitibus tantumodo verba pudebat;
et mea nescio quo reboabat bucula fundo. [150]
Preterii sævæ faciens convitia sorti.'

Daph. 'Te tamen ille diu novit scio dicere Mæci.'

Mæc. 'Hæ! quid ais? quod me cognoscat et Alpheisibæus?'

Daph. 'Aio equidem. Effusa sic, accipe, nominis aura.'

Mæc. 'Qui scis? fare precor.' *Daph.* 'Proprio mihi
protulit ore.' [155]

Mæc. 'Ipsemet utque tibi?' *Daph.* 'Sapis ut buceta
regebam

et pecudes actas Frigiis de pestibus olim,
pastoresque ipsos, Apono pecora ægra lavantes.
Hic novus inspexi, quem post satis, Alpheisibæum.
Sertatum dederat Peneia nata coronam; [160]
aurea polito pendebat fistula collo,
florigeris vitula atque caper cui cornibus ibant.
Hunc ubi nosse datum est calamis et fronde poetam,
Mæcis inornati subierunt tempora mentem.
Mox mihi lingua arsit de te dare verbula secum.' [165]

MSS. M_1M_2 .—148. M_1M_2 , *hec aspice*. 154. M_2 , *aio quidem*. 155. M_2 , *Quid scis*. 156. M_1M_2 , *regebam*. 157. M_2 , *actas*. 163. M_1 , *ubi*, inserted by a later hand.

Driads and the fair Napeads,—moreover, did I lie Damon could reveal it—scarce had I noted well the faces and the gestures of them all, ere the intrinsic wisdom glowed forth from his divine features. 'Tis he, Damon! Behold Dardanian Alpheſibæus! This is Alpheſibæus, I ex- 140 claimed, outstretching my finger at the word.'

Commentary,
p. 250.

Daphnis. 'And with what words didst then accost Alpheſibæus?'

Mæris. 'It was my will to summon him beneath the roof of my poor hut, had there been chestnuts there, or milk, or apples; but chestnuts, apples, milk, it was without; for 145 Bononia held back my wage though she had promised it (as will this city too, if thou, Daphnis, support me not; this my hempen purse, see here, will need no string!); and I was ashamed to pound nothing but only words for guests of mine; and from some field I heard my heifer low. I 150 turned away hurling reproaches on my cruel fate.'

Daphnis. 'Yet to my knowledge long hath he known thee for a poet, Mæris.'

Mæris. 'Ha! what sayst thou? That Alpheſibæus too knows me?'

Daphnis. 'I say it. So widespread, believe it, is the breath of thy name.'

Mæris. 'How dost thou know? Speak, I implore thee.'

Daphnis. 'With his own mouth he told it me.' 155

Mæris. 'Himself to thee?'

Daphnis. 'Thou knowest how I late was ruling the pastures and the sheep driven of old from Phrygia's destruction, and the shepherds' selves who wash their flocks, when sick, in Aponus. There fresh arrived I saw, whom after I saw often, Alpheſibæus. She who sprang from the Peneian maid had given him his crown for garlanding; the golden 160 pipe—a heifer and he-goat with flower-girt horns carved round it—hung from his glossy neck. When it was given me to know the poet by his reed and by his garland, the temples of uncrowned Mæris came into my mind and straight my tongue burned to discourse with him of thee.' 165

Scholæ, p. 308. *Mær.* 'Et quid verbasti? Si sit tibi candida conjux,
 et tibi consimiles protendat ad oscula natos,
 si tua non perdas extranea rura gubernans,
 quin te dum turbatur agris armenta sequantur,
 nec pecus inde tuum furia incumbente sinatur [170]
 inter se certare loco vel amore vel herbis,
 neu te decipiant maculosi vellera pardi,
 nec tibi confidas quotiens vulpecula ridet,
 nec male languentis labaris in antra leonis,
 et non irascantur apes tibi mella legenti, [175]
 da quoque quid de me responderit Alpheſibœus!'

Daph. 'Hoc igitur noto postquam te mente relegi,
 illicet irrupi sic: *O formose poeta*
et nobis etiam, quamvis incomptus, habetur
qui calamos inflare sapit quoque dicere versus, [180]
fonte Aganippeo perfusus labra quotannis.
Mopsus enim fuerat quondam modo nomine Mæris,
dicitur et magni vocalis verna Maronis.
Alpheſibœe, virum—Tunc ille, (nec addere nostin? [184]
dat mihi) mox: IMMO Moerin bene sensimus inquit
clarisona fama calamis et voce profundum
agnomen MERUISSE sui retinere magistri,
et dignum Aoniæ gereret qui frondis honorem.
Talia sic de te mecum verbavimus ille.' [189]

Mær. 'Daphni, ut præteriens si videris ipse Cytorum,
 quaque videre datum est fueris miratus eundem,
 mox tibi jam placiti quis laudet pascua montis,
 tum magis atque magis folles tibi cordis anhelant
 famosis te ferre jugis et cernere cuncta,
 sic mihi se assidue magis integrat Alpheſibœus, [195]
 tum per visa mihi tum per quæ dicta renarras;
 unde mihi dudum conceptus duplicat ardor
 quem tandem explebo, fors invida ni vetet, ejus
 conspectu placido placido quoque fame pasci.'

MSS. M_1M_2 .—166. M_2 , *Atquid*. 173. M_1 has *vidat* corrected to *ridet*.
 185. M_1M_2 , *mox amabo*. 187. M_1M_2 , *meminisse*. 188. This line was
 originally omitted in M_1 , but was afterwards inserted, apparently by
 Boccaccio's own hand. 198. M_1 , *vetet* (?).

Mær. 'And what saidst thou? So mayst thou have a fair bride, so may she stretch children like thyself to thee for kisses, so mayst thou never lose thine own whilst ruling others' pastures, and rather may the herds when there is trouble in the fields follow after thee, and never be it the fate of thine own flocks, by madness thence contracted, to fight amongst themselves for place or love or fodder, and so may the pards of spotted skin never deceive thee, and so mayst thou never trust thyself what time the vixen makes a mock of thee, so mayst thou never slip into the sick lion's den, so never may the bees when thou dost gather honey rage against thee, as thou tell'st me what Alpheſibœus said in answer about me.' Commentary,
p. 252.

Daphnis. 'When he, then, was made known to me, and I had conned thee in my mind again, straightway I broke out thus: *O poet beauteous, we too have one, although undecked, who well knows to breathe upon the reeds and utter verse, who bathes his lips year by year at Aganippe's fount. For Mœsus erst he was, now by name Mærſis, and he is likewise called the vocal servant of great Maro. The man, Alpheſibœus—then he, (ere he would suffer me to add dost know?) straightway exclaimed, Yea, I have heard indeed by clear ringing fame that Mærſis deep in lore of flute and voice has earned to hold his master's name, and is worthy to bear the honour of the Aonian frond.* Such words, and thus, did he and I discourse of thee.'

Mær. 'Daphnis, just as, if thou hast thyself beheld, in passing by, Cyturus, and where it has been granted thee to look, hast marvelled at the same, and then some other should praise the pastures of the mountain that has already won thy love, more and more the bellows of thy heart pant to carry thee over the far-famed ridges and to behold them all, even so doth Alpheſibœus ever more and more grow great upon me both by what I have seen, and by what thou tellest; wherefore the long conceived ardour doubles in me—which one day I will fulfil if envious fortune forbid not—to feed upon his placid aspect and his placid speech.'

Scholia, p. 308. *Daph.* 'At prius hinc illum potes excitare sonoris [200]
 jam calamis, et forte gravi subducere somno
 quo silet — invitus, si cui cantaret haberet;
 respondebit ovans tangatur carmine vates;
 nec tempus perdendo dato solatia nobis.' [204]

Mœr. 'Quod mihi Daphni jubes hoc ipse diu cupiebam;
 quid tamen auderem palpare canoribus illum
 quo modulante fremunt simul omnia Dindyma circum;
 auratis qui fronde virens quoque cantat avenis
 quas illi moriens Lycidas in pignus amoris,
 (dixit ut Emilia sub rupe mihi memor Alcon) [210]
 ipse quibus Lycidas cantaverat Ysidis ignes,
 — Ysidis ibat enim flavis fugibundula tricis
 non minus eluso quam sit zelata marito
 per silvas totiens per pascua sola reperta
 qua simul heroes decertavere Britanni, [215]
 Lanciloth et Lamiroth et nescio quis Palamedes—
 dimisit, dicens: *Quia musis cerneris aptus*
his Musactus eris. Hederae tua tempora lambent.
 Cum mihi inexculto sit cannea fistula, quæve
 ægra diu ramis stetit insufflata salignis, [220]
 qua stridente magis graciles fugere capellæ.
 Nonne silere præest quam carmine ludat inepto?
 Organico quid enim tetrisset anatula cigno?'

Daph. 'Invanum obscuras nobis tua carmina Mœri,
 quando Maroniades resonas interpret avenas [225]
 unde Maronisono gaudes agnomine solus;
 quando etiam calamis umbrosa valle resectis
 carmine vulgatum *laaxabas* Tityron ipsum,
 qui modo Flammineis occumbit Sarnius oris.
 Tene putem frustra nostri mirentur agrestes? [230]
 Ne trepida — tremulis video te sistere labris —
 nam bonus est nequem derideat Alphisibœus.'

Daphnis. 'But from here thou mayst first rouse him by the vocal reed and perchance mayst shake him from the heavy slumber wherein he has gone dumb—unwillingly, 202 had he to whom to sing. Exultingly the bard will answer be he but touched with song. Spill not thy time in solacing of us!'

Commentary
268.

Mær. 'Daphnis, what thou commandest have I been 205 long desiring. But how should I dare to soothe with songs him at whose music all Dindyma is a-tremble, who, leaf-crowned, plays too upon the golden pipe which dying Lycidas bequeathed to him in token of his love (as, under an Emilian crag, Alcon who minded it reported to me), the 210 pipe whereon Lycidas himself had sung Isotta's flames—for Isotta strayed wandering with yellow tresses, her husband eluded in measure as herself was longed for, time and again found all alone amongst the glades and pastures whereon the while Britannie heroes fought, Lancelot and 215 Lamoracke and who hight Palamede—he gave it to him saying: *Since thou art perceived apt for the muses, by these shalt thou be muse-driven. Ivy shall clasp thy temples;* whereas I, unadorned, have but my pipe of reed, which has long hung, unbreathed upon and sickly, on the willow 220 branches; at the strident note of which the slender goats fled all the more. Were it not better to keep silence than to trifle in futile song? Why should a duckling be quacking at the tuneful swan?'

Daphnis. 'In vain dost thou belittle thy songs, O Mær, inasmuch as thou dost sound, interpreting, the pipe of Maro; 225 wherefore thou alone dost rejoice in the appellation that rings of Maro; and inasmuch as with thy reeds cut in the shady vale thou didst win Tityrus himself, far-famed amongst the people for his song, to lighter mood,—Tityrus who now, sprung from Sarnus though he be, lies prone on the Flamminian shore. Am I to think that our rustics 230 admire thee for nought? Shrink not,—I see thee pause with trembling lips,—for Alpheisibœus is too kindly to deride any.'

Scholia, p. 209.

Mær. 'Spe quadam suadendo repleas mea pectora Daphni,
dum modo non cupias suasum ridere cadentem.' [234]

Daph. 'Ante ruet duras Zephyrus mitissimus ornos,
Mænalus et subversa trahat pecuaria secum,
ante elephas onagro sternetur, bubulus hirco,
in baratrumque cadet Jovis Ida vel Herculis Æta,
quam sibi convivio succumbat carmine Mœris.
I bone nec te Mœri rogo sine tanta rogari. [240]
Carminis auctor ego, pro iudice stat Melibœus.'

Mel. 'En sideo' Melibœus ait 'censere paratus.'

Mær. 'Quando tuis nequeo mi Daphni resistere jussis,
et superat parere tibi mea posse voluntas,
quod dabitur faciam, quamquam mihi rara facultas, [245]
officiumque neget sua tempora conmeditandi,
quærere lenticulam genus et servare caprinum.'

Mel. 'Fac' Melibœus ait 'quod versibus implicor illis;
censoremque potes preponere rite poetis.'

Daph. 'Quidni?' Daphnis ait, sub risu labra re-
tendens; [250]
et 'sine te Melibœe foret quæ fabula nobis?'
addiderat complexus eum tergoque premabat.

Mœris ad hæc abiens meditandi talia lætus
promptior ediderat quæ mitteret Alpheisibœo;
sed mora lata gravis, nam, Daphnide despiciente [255]
cetera cum Musis volucris pro sorte superbo,
Pieris indignum velut indignata canendi,
carmen agreste licet dimittere noluit ante
delusum parili quam viderit arte dolosum
vidit; et illius minus est compassa ruinæ [260]
(quo fraudatus erat brumali fenore Mœris)
quam cum respexit de turre Pyreneæ lapsum,
Castalias ausum velle incestare sorores;

MSS. M₁M₂.—234. M₂, *canentem*. 240. M₂ omits *rogo*. 261. M₁, *bimali* (?).
262. M₁M₂, *quem*.

Mær. 'Thou fillest my bosom with a certain hope as thou dost urge me,—if only thou seekest not, when thou hast urged me, to make merry at my fall.' Commentary,
p. 266.

Daphnis. 'Nay, rather let the mildest zephyr hurl the tough ash-trees down, and Mænalus collapse drawing its flocks with it, rather let the elephant be felled by the ass and the ox by the goat, and let Jove's Ida or Hercules' Ceta fall into the pit, sooner than Mœris succumb in song to any his coeval. Go! my good friend, and Mœris I beg thee put us not to so much begging. I am the voucher for the song, and here stands Melibœus as the judge.'

Melibœus. 'Yes, here I sit,' says Melibœus, 'ready to pronounce.'

Mær. 'My Daphnis, since I cannot resist thy commands, and my will to obey thee is greater than my power, I will do whatso shall be given me, though all too scanty is my faculty, and my trade of culling lentils and guarding the race of goats denies me the due time for meditation.'

Melibœus. 'See to it,' Melibœus cries, 'that I am woven into those thy verses; and thou mayst fitly give the censor a place before the poets.'

Daphnis. 'Why not?' says Daphnis, holding his lips beneath his laughter, and 'Without thee, Melibœus, what tale should we have at all?' he added, embracing him, and clapping him upon the back.

Mœris on this, going upon his way, rejoicing to ponder on such themes as these, would more promptly have uttered words to send to Alpheisibœus, save that grave delay arose; for Daphnis, proud in his fleeting eminence, contemned the muses and all else, wherefore the Pierian maid, as though scorning to sing of one unworthy, was loth to dispatch even a rustic song till she saw him deluded with such like guile wherewith she had seen him deluding; and less pity had she for his ruin (whereby Mœris was defrauded of his winter's fee!) than when she saw Pyreneus, who had dared to conceive the desire of polluting the

Scholia, p. 309.

— spe facili quoniam pluvia tellure pedantes
 hospitii ficta pietate incluserat illas, [265]
 sed, ne claustra deas aut vis insana teneret,
 culmine de summo cœli per aperta volarunt.
 Ille amens et (eas cohibendi tanta voluntas)
 posse sequi sperans pariter se misit ab alto;
 implumis quasi pullus adhuc et viscere pleno [270]
 maternum miratus iter mox linquere nidum
 ausus et ante diem vetitos agitare volatus
 sentit humum, sentit meritam presumptio poenam.—
 Vidit, et *Hæc* inquit *mittamus ad Alphesibæum*.

Si caudam nigrescit ovis mea candida frontem, [275]
 aut si balatum grave finiat, argue tempus;
 tempus enim variat pecori cum vellere vocem,
 pastoresque heu me vires animosque loquelam.
 Tu quoque lætus eras quando hæc tibi læta canebam;
 nunc datur ut querula solemur arundine sortem. [280]

MSS. M₁M₂—278. M₂ Pastores heu me.

Castalian sisters, tumbling from his tower.—For he with facile hope, as they paced upon the rain-soaked earth, with feigned compassionate hospitality had shut them in; but that neither the barriers nor his insane violence should hold them captive, the goddesses from the summit of the roof flew through the open space of heaven; he, raging, and (so great was his desire to restrain them) hoping that he might follow them, flings himself in like fashion from above; just as a chick, unfledged as yet and full paunched, marvelling at his mother's course, dares too soon to leave the nest, and, ere the time, to ply forbidden flight, bumps on the ground and tastes the due penalty of presumption.—She saw, and, *These*, she said, *let us dispatch to Alpheisibæus.*

Commentary,
p. 257.

If my sheep, white of brow, blackens to the tail, or if it end its bleat upon a heavy note, accuse the times; for the times change the sheep's voice no less than its fleece; and, ah me! the shepherds too, in strength, in spirit, and in gift of speech. Thou, too, wast joyous when I sang these joyous strains to thee; now it is given us to solace our fate with the complaining reed.

280

VII. VIII. An unknown friend to Del

ARGUMENT—A friend sends greeting to Del Virgilio, who is a near neighbour and against whom no haunt of the muses is barred ; and requests him to assign to their true places in Virgil's works the elements of a somewhat inferior or unworthy Vergilian Cento which he encloses (vii.). Del Virgilio takes delight in having his thoughts thus redirected to Virgil and in the exquisite sense of the fitness and

Ite precor pariter numeri gremiumque salutis
 fert vireo Aoniæ reserat cui janua silvæ ;
 ite precor via quippe brevis nulloque labore
 est vobis adeunda, procul nam saxea moles
 et scopuli, nullumque potest occurrere lævum. [5]
 Non vos belligeri vultus decernere Martis
 jam non Antæi Libyæ residentis in antris
 ibitis, immo viri quem pascunt pascua cigni
 et quem Virgilii grandis sapientia nutrit.
 Postera sit vobis promptissima cura precandi [10]
 quatenus involucrum quamvis sit forte ligatum
 solvat et Acephali mihi libri metra secundi
 mittat, Virgilio sed non sapienter adempta.

RESPONSIO MAGISTRI JOHANNIS.

Auribus humanis non vox humana per auras
 exaudita mihi blandam per membra quietem
 attulit; agnosco nymphas et fonte sonoras
 Castalio festas circumductare coreas.
 Sic O Pierides sic O sic sæpius unde [5]
 profluit iste canor jam jam parebo jubete.

Vultis ut exhibeam vobis fragmenta Maronis
 quæ vatū non parca manus sed avara suorum

Virgilio, and Del Virgilio's answer

beauty of the true connection when the fragments are restored to their place ; and at the same time he protests against such graceless and parasitical mutilations of the poet. His task is in some sort a communion with the muses, then, and a commission from them, but he would fain have a weightier charge from them (viii.).

My numbers go I pray in seemly order, and bear my bosom greeting to the man for whom the door of the Aonian wood unlocks. Go I emlore ; for short the way and of no toil that must be traversed by you ; nor stony mass nor rock is nigh, and nought ill-omened can occur to 5 you. Not yours to look upon the face of war-dealing Mars, nay, nor of Antæus dwelling in caves of Libya ; rather will ye go to look upon his face whom the swan's pastures pasture, and whom the wisdom of great Virgil feeds. Next be your most eager care to pray that he will 10 loose the swathing, bound howsoever tight, and will send me the measures of the second Headless book, filched, but not wisely, from Virgilius.

Commentary,
p. 267

MASTER GIOVANNI'S ANSWER.

On human ears a voice not human came upon the breeze, and heard by me brought soothing rest upon my limbs ; I know the nymphs, and those others whom the Castalian fount makes vocal, to be weaving their festal dances around. O Pierides from whom full often thus, O thus, hath flowed 5 that sound, instant will I obey, do ye command. Ye will that I should set before you the fragments of Maro which a hand has made that spares the poets not, but grudgeth to give

fecit, danda viro qui vestro concinit ore
quique nihil patitur de vobis esse recisum; [10]
ut laceræ clamydi fragmenta resarciat aureis
filis et venerans integra veste poetam
vobiscum conludat ei. Festino, videtis.
Ite deæ reduces, et si majora petatis
consultite; interea thesauros solvero sacros. [15]

MS. M₁.

of its own; now to be submitted to the man who singeth Commentary,
p. 257.
in accord with your own voice and who endureth not that 10
aught should be clipped off from you; that his stitches may
with golden threads re-unite its fragments to the rent
robe, and reverencing the poet with unmutilated garb may
sport with him even as do ye. I hasten as ye see. Return
O goddesses upon your way and think if ye have
weightier request; meanwhile I will unlock the sacred 15
treasures.

IX. X. Guido Vacchetta to Giovanni

ARGUMENT—Guido Vacchetta, the physician, with allusive and punning references to his own and to Del Virgilio's names, expresses a hope that he may come to enjoy the latter's closer intimacy and may

Cui cognomen adest magna virtute Maronis
 Cuique dedit nomen gratia sacra dei
 Bestia femineo quæ mugit parvula sexu
 Se tibi cum vera Guido salute parat.
 Dividat ut nos nunc distantia longa viarum [5]
 Mentis in amplexu me tibi jungo tamen.
 Sis prope, di faciant te pandere Semina terræ
 Pascua teque mihi nec minus "Arma virum."

RESPONSIVA MAGISTRI JOHANNIS.

Bucola quæ species et sanas ruminat herbas
 Ut morbis hominum lac medicale ferat,
 Pectus et ora viri gestans (mirabile dictu)
 Et nomen Guido gaudeat unde canat.
 Hoc ita Minciadis interpret arundinis orat [5]
 Nomen habens per quod reddita lingua seni:
 'Mentis ut in speculo gaudemus imagine jungi
 Sic rogo jungantur corpora læta loco,
 Ecqua piis igitur faveant si numina votis
 Pandentem cernes me Nemus Arva Frigen. [10]

del Virgilio, and Giovanni's answer

hear him expound the works of Virgil (ix.); a hope which Del Virgilio reciprocates in similar allusive style (x.).

To thee whose cognomen is derived from the great might
of Maro, and whose name the holy Grace of God hath
furnished, the little beast that lows, of female sex,
Guido, presents himself with truest greeting. Albeit the
long distance of the way doth part us now, nathless in 5
mind's embrace I join myself to thee. Mayst thou be near,
and may the gods grant that thou expound to me the
Seeds of earth the Pastures and eke "Arms and the man."

Commentary,
p. 258.

MASTER GIOVANNI'S ANSWER.

May the heifer that ruminates specifics and healing herbs
that it may bear milk medicinable to the ills of man,
wearing a human chest and face, wondrous to tell, and the
name Guido, have joy the fount of song. This then
prayeth the interpreter of the Mincian reed, bearing the 5
name by which his tongue was rendered again to the Elder:
'Even as in the mind's mirror we rejoice to be united in
effigy, so I pray may our joyous bodies be in space united.'
If then there be any deities who favour pious vows thou
shalt yet discern me expounding Grove, Fields, and 10
Phrygian.

XI. Fragment of a narrative

ARGUMENT—The garrison of a besieged city has turned against its rulers and having set the place on fire has left the Queen and her maidens to their fate. The fire spares but hunger overcomes them and they throw themselves upon the conqueror's mercy (1-24). If he takes glory in the death of women whose only crime is the faithful love they bore their husbands let him slay them quick (25-30). But

Vocibus his humiles fudit regina querelas:

'Miles honeste piis he heu miserere puellis
 quas hic inclusas flammata in urbe reliquit
 perfida gens odio sceptris innixa latenti
 adversaque in sorte vomens servile venenum. [5]
 Cum tamen ignis edax urbem possederit omnem
 aspexit cælo pietas nil tale merentes
 unde queant artus insontes urere flammæ;
 mœnia pro nobis steterunt incendia contra
 quæ nunc sola vides exstantis turribus urbis. [10]

Incorrupta focis indulsit flamma puellis,
 sed nos atra fames nulla pietate retenta
 nec generi indulgens nec cedens mœnibus ullis
 quatuor immunes alimenti solibus omnis
 exedit, et sorpto rarescunt corda liquore, [15]
 et molles fugiunt animæ; Pol morsibus atris
 has insigne decus et corporis organa nostri
 pæne manus edimus. Si tempora prima revolvam
 delenire famem certabant cominus omnes
 heu mihi delitiæ, sordebat munus aratri [20]
 ducebatque labor bovium fastidia nobis;
 nunc plebeia ceres supremum muneris instar
 venerit et modico crusti aurum tradimus omne
 quod mihi pro solio turris calcatur ab imo.

poem by Giovanni del Virgilio

surely the confidence with which they have thrown themselves on his mercy rather than seek death themselves, constitutes an appeal to his generosity to secure them a better and not a worse fate than if they had slain themselves (31-37). Pleading her deadly weakness as an excuse for her imperfect words, the captive Queen drops down before her conqueror (38-43).

In such words as these the queen uttered her humble lamentation: 'Sir Knight, ah pity the faithful maidens who were left deserted here, shut in the flaming city by the perfidious folk who prop themselves on royalty with secret hate, but when the lot is adverse vomit forth slavish 5 poison. Yet when the devouring fire was in full possession of the city, pity looked down from heaven on those who had done naught to deserve that the flames should have power to scorch their guiltless limbs. The walls which are all that you now see of the city, rising with her towers, stood firm for us against the conflagration. The 10 uncorrupted flame spared the girls from its burnings; but black famine, not held back by pity, not sparing race, and baffled by no walls, devours all of us, bereft for four days' space of every food; and all our water drunk, our hearts 15 grow faint and our pampered thoughts vanish. Oh heaven! with dark gnawings we all but consume these hands of ours, the illustrious glory and the organs of our body. If I look back on former times, all luxuries, ah me, vied close at hand to appease our hunger. We scorned the gift of the plough and the toil of oxen 20 waked disgust in us. Now the people's bread should come as the supremest gift, and for a scrap of crust we offer all the gold which I trample beneath me as the floor of my tower. Nay, if your victory finds its goal in the slaughter

Commentary,
p. 258.

Aut nece feminea sistat victoria vobis [25]
perdite nos subito, longis ne absumite pœnia.
Sed nec Amazonias usæ vibrare bipennes
venimus aut acres in vos urgere sagittas.

Crimen amor nostrum si crimen amare maritos,
quos sumus imbelles infausta in bella secutæ. [30]

Sed nec obesse decet quod nos deteximus ultro
cumque necem variam possemus cernere nobis
— nam finem properum saltu dabat ardua turris,
zonaque nos laqueis armabat, gemma venenis,
spondebant obitum jejunia sera latentem — [35]

nos tibi confisæ clara pietate notato
tendimus ingenuas palmas, vitamque precamur;
quo magis afflictis, miles, succurre puellis,
reginæ et miseræ quæ te non ficta rogaret,
sed bibit exuries lacrimas; non cernis ut arent [40]
impasto pallore genæ, vocisque meatus
obstruitur? vix sto, vix hæc tibi verba resolvo.'

Sic ait et fandi et standi defessa resedit.

of women, then slay us swiftly; consume us not with long-
drawn misery. But neither were we wont to brandish 25
Amazonian battle-axes, nor did we come to speed keen
arrows at you. Our crime is love, if crime it be to
love our husbands whom we weaklings followed into
unhappy war. But neither should it hurt our case that we 30
have come forth of ourselves out of our shelter, and though
we had choice of many modes of death—for the lofty tower
offered us a speedy end by leaping from it, and our girdles
armed us with nooses, our rings with poisons, long famine
promised us a creeping death—yet trusting ourselves to
thee, known for thy noble courtesy, we stretch forth 35
our freeborn hands and pray for life. Therefore the
more, Sir Knight, succour the afflicted maids and the
wretched queen, who, but that famine drinks up her tears,
would pray to thee sincerest prayers. Perceivest thou not
the cheeks parched with unfed pallor and the passage 40
of the voice all blocked? Scarce can I stand, scarce
utter I these words to thee.' Thus speaks she, and
drops down exhausted alike with speech and standing.

Commentary.
p. 250.



COMMENTARY.

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON PARALLELS FROM VIRGIL'S *ECLOGUES*.

ALL the pastoral names adopted by Dante and Del Virgilio are taken from Virgil's *Eclogues*.

Melibœus (*Carmen* ii. 4 and vi. 17) occurs in Virgil's *Ec.* i. 6 and vii.

Tityrus (*Carmen* ii. 6) in Virg. *Ec.* i. 1, etc., and v. 12.

Mopsus (" ii. 6) in " v.

Nysa (" iii. 8) in " viii. 18, 26.

Alexis (" iii. 8) in " ii. 1.

Phyllis (" iii. 45) in " iii. 76, etc., v. 10, vii. 14, x. 41.

Corydon (" iii. 57) in " ii. 1.

Thestylis (" iii. 59) in " ii. 10.

Iolas (" iii. 80 and vi. 72) in Virg. *Ec.* ii. 57, iii. 76, etc.

Alphesibœus (*Carmen* iv. 7 and vi. 98) in " viii.

Amaryllis (" vi. 7) in Virg. *Ec.* i. 5 and viii. 77.

Daphnis (*Carmen* vi. 14) in Virg. *Ec.* v. 20, etc.

Mœris (" vi. 25) in " viii. 96 and ix.

Ægle (" vi. 54) in " vi. 20,

Damon (" vi. 107) in " iii. 17, etc., viii.

Alcon (" vi. 210) in " v. 11.

Lycidas (" vi. 211) in " vii. 67.

No reader who has even a casual acquaintance with Virgil's *Eclogues* will fail to note the numerous reminiscences and imitations to be found in Del Virgilio's poems. Macri-Leone has noted a few of them, and rightly calls attention to the higher originality of the Dantesque poems. Del Virgilio's quick ear did indeed catch a distant echo of a single passage in Virgil in Dante's first poem, and he proceeded at once to develop it, but that is all; and the second Dantesque poem is at once more sparing and more independent in its use of borrowed or suggested phrases than

are Del Virgilio's *Eclogues*. The reader may be glad to have the following parallels brought to his attention. Del Virgilio's special predilection for Virgil's second *Eclogue* will not escape notice.

There are naturally no marked echoes of the *Eclogues* in Del Virgilio's first poem, which is heroic rather than bucolic in its form; but the phrase

"Dic age quo petiit Jovis armiger astra volatu" (*Carmen* i. 26)
(where *Jovis armiger* is the Emperor Henry), perhaps carries us back to Virgil's

"Nos tamen hæc quocumque modo tibi nostra vicissim
dicemus, Daphninque tuum tollemus ad astra;
Daphnin ad astra feremus" (*Eclogue* v. 50-52)

(where *Daphnis* is Julius Cæsar).

On *Carmen* ii. 43, cf. note on iii. 44-46.

Carm. iii. 6, 8:

"Quid facerem? nam solus eram puer incola silvæ
Nec tum Misa mihi nec respondebat Alexia."

Virg. *Ec.* vii. 14:

"Quid facerem? neque ego Alcippen nec Phyllida habebam."

Carm. iii. 28, 29:

"Quando hoc Benacia quondam
pastorale sonans detrivit fistula labrum?"

Virg. *Ec.* ii. 34:

"Nec te poeniteat calamo trivisse labellum."

Carm. iii. 33:

"Ha divine senex, ha sic eris alter ab illo!"

Virg. *Ec.* v. 49:

"Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo."

Carm. iii. 44-46:

"O si quando sacros iterum flavescere canos
fonte tuo videas et ab ipsa Phyllide pexos
quam visando¹ tuas tegetes miraberis uvas!"

Virg. *Ec.* i. 68-70:

"En unquam patrios longo post tempore fines,
pauperis et tuguri congestum cespite culmen,
post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?"

Already suggested by Dante's

"et patrio redeam si quando" (*Carm.* ii. 43).

¹ Sic., see commentary.

Carm. iii. 56-61 :

“serpilla tibi substernet Alexis
quem Corydon vocet ipse rogem ; tibi Nisa lavabit
ipsa pedes accincta libens cenamque parabit ;
Testilis hæc inter piperino pulvere fungos
condiet et permixta doment multa allia si quos
forsitan imprudens Melibceus legerit hortia.”

Virg. Ec. ii. 10, 11 :

“Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus æstu
allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.”

Carm. iii. 71 : “tuus ut Melibceus amabat.”

Virg. Ec. ii. 52 : “mea quas Amaryllis amabat.”

Carm. iii. 77-79 : “sed ipsi
di non erubuere cavis habitare sub antris,
testis Achilleus Chiron et pastor Apollo.”

Virg. Ec. ii. 60, 61 : “habitarunt di quoque silvas
Dardaniusque Paris.”

Carm. iii. 80, 81 :

“Mopse quid es demens ? quia non permittet Iolas
comis et urbanus dum sunt tua rustica dona.”

Virg. Ec. ii. 56, 57 :

“Rusticus es, Corydon ; nec munera curat Alexis ;
nec, si muneribus certas, concedat Iolas.”

Carm. iii. 82-87 :

“Sed te quis mentis anhelum
ardor agit vel quæ pedibus nova nata cupido ?
Miratur puerum virgo puer ipse volucrem
et volucris silvas et silvæ flamina verna.
Tityre te Mopsus ; miratio gignit amorem.”

Virg. Ec. ii. 63-65 :

“Torva læna lupum sequitur ; lupus ipse capellam ;
florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella ;
te Corydon, o Alexi : trahit sua quemque voluptas.”

Carm. iv. 57, 58 :

“Te juga te saltus nostri te flumina flebunt
absentem et nymphæ mecum pejora timentes.”

Virg. Ec. i. 39, 40 : “Ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus,
ipsi te fontes, ipsa hæc arbusta, vocabant.”

Carm. iv. 61, 62:

"Fortunate senex fontes et pabula nota
desertare tuo vivaci nomine nolis."

Virg. Ec. i. 47-53:

"Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt!
et tibi magna satis; quamvis lapis omnia nudus
limosoque palus obducit pascua iunco.
Non insueta graves tentabunt pabula fetas;
nec mala vicini pecoris contagia lædent.
Fortunate senex, hic inter flumina nota
et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum."

Carm. iv. 91:

"Ut rem quamque sua jam multum vinceret umbra."

Virg. Ec. i. 84:

"Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbræ."

And Ec. ii. 67:

"Et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras."

Cf. Del Virgilio's

"Dum loquor en comites, et sol de monte rotabat"

(*Carm.* iii. 97).

Carm. vi. 71, 2:

"Pendent arma mihi, pendent vineta bisusta (?)
Heu! magis uror ego."

Virg. Ec. ii. 66, 68:

"Adspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuveni,
et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras:
me tamen urit amor."

Carm. vi. 143-145:

"Pauperis hunc tuguri sub tecta vocare volebam
quando ibi castaneæ seu lac seu poma fuissent;
ast ea castaneis pomis et lacte carebant."

Virg. Ec. i. 81, 82:

"Sunt nobis mitia poma,
castaneæ molles et pressi copia lactis."

And Ec. ii. 51, 52:

"Ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat."

Cf.

"Poma leges, Nisseque genas equantia mandes," etc.

(*Carm.* iii. 63 sqq.).

Carm. vi. 169:

"Dum turbatur agris armenta sequantur."

Virg. Ec. i. 12: "Usque adeo turbatur agria."

Carm. vi. 178: "O formose poeta."

Virg. Ec. ii. 17, 45: "O formose puer."

Carm. vi. 208, etc.: "Avenis

... quas illi moriens Lycidas in pignus amoris

Dimisit, dicens: 'Quia musis cerneris aptus,' etc.

Virg. Ec. ii. 37:

"Fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim,
et dixit moriens: 'Te nunc habet ista secundum.'"

As has been already noted in the Introduction to *Carmen* iv., none of these echoes from the Virgilian *Eclogues* occur in Dante's First Eclogue.

CARMEN I.

Lines 1-5. From these opening lines Ponta¹ concludes that, at the time when he wrote this poem, Del Virgilio had already read all the *Inferno* and all the *Purgatorio*, and not a few of the cantos "that make a glorious beginning to the *Paradiso*."

The reference to Statius in *Carmen* i. 18 carries us at least as far as the xxii. canto of the *Purgatorio*; and though an acute and careful reader might to some extent have anticipated the place that Lethe was to take in Dante's poem from Virgil's words in the *Inferno* (xiv. 136-138):

"Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,
là dove vanno l' anime a lavarsi
quando la colpa pentuta è rimossa";

yet the security with which Del Virgilio assigns Lethe "to them that seek the stars" must be taken as conclusive proof that he had read the last cantos of the *Purgatorio*. It has been argued, less conclusively, that the assignation of the "realms above the sun" to the blest makes it probable that the first instalment at least of the *Paradiso* had already been made public, and line 11 (compared with *Par.* iv.) is held to strengthen the inference. These phrases however betray no familiarity with the specific machinery of Dante's *Paradiso*, and Dante's own words (*Carmen* ii. 48-50 and 58-64) seem to imply that the *Paradiso* was still to come, which inference is strengthened by the phraseology of line 18 of this poem.

¹ *Giornale Arcadico*, vol. cxvi., Rome, 1848, pp. 330-331, 333-334.

7. *Pallentes* = students. Cf. ii. 30, *perpaluit*. Facciolati recognizes this meaning of the word and cites Juvenal, *Sat.* vii. 96, 97, where it is said that when such as Mæcenas lived *tunc utile multis Pallere*, i.e. 'many people found study a good trade.'

8. All the MSS. read *movebis*, but there is a correction in *M*₁ to *movebit*. The connection between this reading and the scholium on "Davus," *quidam malus poeta*, is obvious, for *movebit* brings Davus into comparison with Arion as well as with *Œdipus*. It would be natural to suppose that the false reading suggested the false interpretation, but as all the transcripts have adhered to *movebis*, it is possible that the alteration was suggested by the gloss and was introduced later.

9. See Terence's *Andria*, i. ii. 23, where Davus, not choosing to understand Simo's hint, says *Davus sum, non Œdipus*, i.e. 'I can't guess riddles.' It would seem that Del Virgilio assumed on Dante's part a familiarity with Terence which the latter nowhere shows (unless by implication in the *Epist. ad Canem Grandem*, § 10). Cf. *Inf.* xviii. 133-135, where his dependence on Cicero, *De Amicitia*, xxvi., for his knowledge of Terence's *Eunuchus*, iii. i. 1 sq., has been pointed out by Dr. Moore.

10. *Idiota* is used specifically for those who cannot understand Latin. Hence the scholiast's gloss *non litterata*. See the story about Lovato given in Appendix II., and compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, i. 3, "Intellectus autem angeli plus excedit intellectum humanum quam intellectus optimi philosophi intellectum rudissimi idiotæ."

11. The *esperata* of the MSS. has perplexed the commentators and translators sadly. Ponta alone (*loc. cit.*, p. 238) seems to have accepted the interpretation of the scholiast (*ex spera tracta*, i.e. 'unsphered'), which he interprets "tratta fuori dalla oscurità che involve la scienza della spera celeste." We take it as meaning, "Even Plato himself could hardly extract the secrets of heaven from the spheres." The reference is specifically to the *Timæus*. Cf. *Carmen* iv. 16, 17 and note. Analogously, Milton in *Il Penseroso* :

"Or let my lamp at midnight hour
Be seen in some high lonely tower,
Where I may oft out-watch the Bear,
With thrice-great Hermes, or unsphere
The spirit of Plato, to unfold
What worlds, or what vast regions hold
Th' immortal mind, that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook."

12. *in triviis nunquam digesta*. This corresponds to two pleasant novelle of Franco Sacchetti (114 and 115). In the first, Dante hears a blacksmith singing parts of the *Divina Commedia*, as he beats upon his anvil: "e tramestava i versi suoi, smozzicando e appiccando, che pareva a Dante ricever di quello grandissima ingiuria." In the second, he meets a donkey-driver, who, as he follows his beasts with their load of dung, sings some of Dante's verses, and, after he has sung a bit, he beats one of the donkeys and shouts out *arri!* Dante strikes him and says: "cotesto *arri* non vi mis' io!"

13. *Comicomus* is perhaps corrupt; but none of the attempts to emend or to interpret it can be pronounced successful. Giuliani's *comirius*, for instance, will not scan. If *comicomus* is the true reading, we have to note that the first *o* is long and the second short. The first element of the word therefore is probably connected with *comicus*, and so Dante seems to have understood it. Cf. ii. 52. The second element is apparently connected with *coma* = "locks." Pasqualigo translates "ben crinito," understanding the first element of the word to be *comis* = "pleasant."

Qui Flaccum pelleret orbe is, of course, a reference to Horace, *Sat.* i. ix. 29-34, especially

"Garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces
si sapiat vitet simul atque adoleverit ætas."

16. This is, perhaps, a specific allusion to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 10, 80-85: "Quapropter si primas, et secundarias, et subsecundarias vulgaris Italiæ variationes calculare velimus, in hoc minimo mundi angulo non solum ad millenam loquelæ variationem venire contigerit, sed etiam ad magis ultra."

17, 18. In this line we have practically a direct quotation from the *Commedia* (*Inf.* iv. 101, 102):

"Ch' esser mi fecer della loro schiera,
al ch' io fui sesto tra cotanto senno."

Neither Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, nor Lucan "wrote in the language of the market-place." No more did Statius, with whom Dante may be said to be "following to Heaven" from *Purgatorio* xxi. to *Purg.* xxxiii. (esp. xxxiii. 133-135). The present tense, *consequeris*, perhaps implies that Del Virgilio did not yet know any portion of the *Paradiso*, so that he habitually thought of Dante as on his way, with Statius, to Heaven.

19. All the translators except Macri-Leone take *ensor liberrime vatum* as "O thou most frank critic of poets," and most of them find a reference to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in the phrase.

Macri-Leone translates "tra' poeti il censore più libero," with a note "non già *censor dei poeti*, come hanno interpretati tutti quanti sino al Pasqualigo." But it is difficult to see any reason for taking *vatum* as dependent upon *liberrime* rather than on *censor*; and the current interpretation seems fairly satisfactory. The chief difficulty arises from the word *vatum*. One would hardly have expected Del Virgilio to allow the title *vates* (cf. vi. 1) to the vernacular poets whom Dante criticises in the *De Vulgaria Eloquentia*; and Dante nowhere shows himself a free *censor* of the Latin poets. But this after all is not a very serious difficulty and there seems no adequate reason for departing from the traditional parsing and interpretation of the passage. Line 20 clearly suggests that Del Virgilio is asking leave to take the rôle, for once, which Dante habitually assumes, that is to say, the rôle of a frank critic of poets who write in the vernacular and deal with exalted themes in unworthy language (cf. *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, passim). This is entirely in harmony with Boccaccio's assertion that Dante trained many scholars in poetry, especially in the vernacular (*Vita*, § 6). We have already (pp. 86-89) dealt with the question of the date of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, which, though written earlier, may be taken as representing, in the main, the spirit of Dante's technical teaching at this period.

23. Del Virgilio's solicitude that the garb of the Muses should be treated with due respect reveals itself more happily in his protest against the patchwork robe (*oento*) in which certain would clothe them (see *Carmen* viii. 7-13).

24. The scholiast's explanation of *sorti communis utrique*, as 'common to the Italians and other peoples' is hardly satisfactory, though adopted by most translators. Pasqualigo, followed by Macri-Leone, understands 'common to the clergy and the scholars,' which is worse. Can it mean 'above political parties'? Italy was rent by factions. Everyone was either in his city ready to hold it against attack, or out of it ready to take any opportunity of forcibly re-entering it. Everyone was sharing the lot, for the time being, either of victor or vanquished, and many had had experience *utriusque sortis*. Dante was not to allow himself to serve either party and was thereby to serve both; *sorti communis utrique* he was to be a patriot and a pacifier, not a partisan. Similarly Mussato, in his second poetic epistle, claims to stand above party:

"Scripta mihi videas rerum discrimina lector
et tibi nunc Guelfus nunc Gibolengus ero."

Our thoughts naturally turn to the well-known lines which Dante has placed upon the lips of Justinian, *Paradiso*, vi. 97-102; and

then to his own cry of anguish as he thinks of the desolating feuds that distract the cities of Italy, in *Purgatorio*, vi. 76-126.

25. Del Virgilio now proceeds to suggest certain stirring events of contemporary history as suitable subjects to robe in a garb worthy of the Castalian sisters. We are fortunate in knowing exactly what sort of work he expected of Dante, as within the next two years Mussato, as we have already seen (page 55), was induced to adopt a similar suggestion from the confraternity of notaries in Padua, and wrote his "*De obsidione Domini Canis Grandis de Verona circa mœnia Paduanæ Civitatis et conflictu eius*" in three books of Latin hexameters. It opens:

"Invictum Populum, formidatumque per omnem
 Italiam, Clio, quovis Soror inclyta cantu,
 Ede Virum; nec te non æqua voce sequentem
 Dedignare Chelyn. Sacrorum tempora Vatum
 Præteriere, modis nunc nostra minoribus Ætas
 Admittit tenerum leni modulamine Carmen.
 Te prodente canam sæclo memoranda perenni
 Prælia, quæ Patavæ Magnus Canis intulit Urbi.
 Virtutem obsessi Populi, durosque labores:
 Germanasque acies, et pulsum mœnibus Hostem."

As has been already noticed, this work, though originally an independent poem, is at present printed as books ix.-xi. of the *De Gestis Italicorum Post Henricum*.

26. *Jovis armiger* = eagle = emperor. The reference is to the death of Henry VII., August 24, 1313 (cf. p. 18). There are noteworthy canzoni on this event by Cino da Pistoia, beginning *Da poi che la natura ha fine 'mposito*, and *L' alta virtù, che si ritrasse al cielo* (cvi. and cvii. in Carducci's *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d' altri del secolo xiv.*, Florence, 1862). The former gives fine expression to the passionate grief of the *fuorusciti*, who had clung to Cæsar through good report and ill report. It is not Henry who has died, for he himself is living in blessedness and his fame will live for ever; no, it is they themselves who are dead:

"Ma quei son morti, i quai vivono ancora,
 che avean tutta lor fede in lui fermata
 con ogni amor sì come in cosa degna;
 e malvagia fortuna in subit' ora
 ogni allegrezza nel cor ci ha tagliata:
 però ciascun come smarrito regna.
 O somma maestà giusta e benegna,
 poi che ti fu 'n piacer torci costui,
 danne qualche conforto per altrui."

Cino's second canzone (also printed by Fraticelli among the *Rime Apocryfe* of Dante, Opere Minori, vol. i.) is no less ardent in the dead Caesar's praise; and it is a remarkable sign of the way in which Henry's virtues were appreciated by Guelf and Ghibelline alike to find that this ode was sent to Guido Novello of Battifolle, who was of course a strenuous Guelf and had been in arms against him. It is Count Guido's worship of love, the poet seems to say in his *commiato*, that encourages him to send it:

"E però mando a voi ciò c' ho trovato
di Cesare, che al cielo è incoronato."

Dante's fellow-exile, Sennuccio del Bene, similarly wrote a canzone on the same occasion, *Da poi ch' i' ho perduto ogni speranza*, which the *commiato* shows to have been sent to the Marquis Franceschini Malaspina (Carducci, *op. cit.*, p. 233, and in Fraticelli), in whom the poet has still some hope (was this the way in which the poets all sought for new protectors on Henry's fall?). Witte and others have attempted—without the slightest shadow of plausibility—to ascribe it to Dante, and it has therefore been translated as Dante's by Plumptre. But Dante was silent until he could more fittingly sing the glory of his *alto Arrigo* in the Empyrean. See *Paradiso*, xxx. 133-138:

"In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni
per la corona che già v' è su posta,
prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,
sederà l' alma, che fia giù agosta,
dell' alto Arrigo, ch' a drizzare Italia
verrà in prima che ella sia disposta."

27. The combination of the *flores* (of Florentia) and the *lilies* (of France and, here, of the royal house of Anjou in Naples) determines the reference to the battle of Montecatini, August 29th, 1315, and therefore the *arator* must be (as the scholiast says) Uguccione della Faggiuola (cf. pp. 46-48). The appropriateness of the word *arator* seems to be derived from his cutting down the flowers and lilies, rather than from anything in Uguccione's name or character; but it should be noted that Dante in *Epistle* v. calls the Emperor *novus agricola Romanorum* (not to mention the more obvious and less germane *Hectoreus pastor*), which is to some extent analogous. "Fu questo fatto d' arme sì atroce e sanguinoso," writes Corio, "che quasi fu comparato alla battaglia di Canne." In the bitterness of his heart the Guelf poet, Folgore da San Gemignano, declared that God Himself had deserted the party of the Church and had become a mere tributary of Uguccione:

"Eo non ti lodo, Dio, e non ti adoro,
e non ti prego e non ti rengrazio,

e non ti servo, ch' eo ne son più sazio
 che l' anime di star en purgatorio ;
 perchè tu hai messi i Guelfi a tal martoro
 ch' i Ghibellini ne fan beffe e strazio,
 e se Uguccion ti comandasse il dazio
 Tu 'l pagaresti senza peremptoro."

(See *Le Rime di Folgore da San Gemignano e di Cene de la Chitarra d' Arezzo*, ed. G. Navone, Bologna, 1880.)

A very different note is struck in the wonderful ballata written by an anonymous Guelf, contemporaneous with the battle,—a piece which Carducci characterizes as one of the most beautiful minor poems of the fourteenth century (*Rime di Messer Cino*, etc., "I Reali di Napoli nella rotta di Montecatini," pp. 603-606). It takes the form of a dialogue between one of the fugitives from the battlefield and the Queen Mother, Mary of Hungary, widow of Charles II. of Naples :

"Deh, avrestù veduto messer Piero
 poi che fu 'l nostro campo sbarattato ?
 Tuo viso mostra pur che vi sie stato."

It is an impassioned lament for the princely and beautiful young knight, Messer Piero, "il mio giglio e la mia rosa e il fiore," "quello innocente agnello immacolato," whose blood has been shed for the Faith :

"da quella setta eretica pagana
 Ghibellina e Pisana,
 spietata più che genti Saracine."

The desolate mother of the fallen prince is to take comfort in her sorrow, and may turn from her fierce plans of vengeance, for her "dolce Messer Piero" has been assumed into Heaven—no wonder is it then that his body was never found—and is now her intercessor before the throne of God. Nor need the Guelfs despair :

"Va', ballatuzza di lamento, ratta
 in ogni parte dove Guelfo sia
 sceso di signoria :
 di' che stea allegro e non abbia temenza ;
 chè se i Pisan co' lievri ci dièr gatta,
 e' fu 'l peccato nostro e la mattia,
 non per lor vigoria :
 ma Dio ci tolse il cor e la prudenza.
 Signori, incontro a Dio non è potenza ;
 qualotta il nostro fallo fie purgato,
 avrem l' ardire e il senno apparecchiato."

28. The "Phrygian does" are the Paduans (called "Phrygian" in honour of the legendary foundation of Padua by the Trojan Antenor; cf. Livy, i. 1; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 242-249; and *Purg.* v. 75), and the "Stag-hound" is Can Grande della Scala. The reference is to one or other of Can Grande's great victories at Vicenza, September 1314 or May 1317. The chronological order of events would indicate the latter. Cf. pages 32-34, 48-49. But the phraseology recalls with terrible vividness Mussato's description of the sequel of the former. "Sed irremissi *Canis* contubernales, mercenarii, et peditum disposita ad pingues praedas consortia, per noctis hujus tenebras molossis vepribusque ut ad venationes secum tractis, per vicinos lucos ex abditis salictis, per spinosas rubium vertigines, inedia frigoreque marcescentes *Paduanos*, quos varium discrimina refellerant, quaerere, venari binos, ternos, et deinceps in moenia educere, nec iis scrutationibus per quartam, quintamve diem ulla intermissione desinere."

The MSS. all read *Phrygios* . . . *laceratos*, the masculine being used because the *damæ* represent men. The alteration to *Phrygias* . . . *laceratas*, in order to avoid a false concord, is a specimen of the persistent manner in which humanist editors have vitiated mediæval texts.

Dente is the reading of *M*₁, *M*₂, and *P*; but there is a marginal note on *M*₁, in Boccaccio's own hand, "aliter *terga*." This variant appears in *G* and *E*. We have nothing but internal evidence to determine us in favour of one reading or the other. Pasqualigo prefers *terga* because *molosso* does not occur elsewhere as an adjective. He is supported by Macri-Leone; but if the argument is worth anything, it tells the other way. Del Virgilio was not much of a Latinist (compare notes on lines 45 and 48), and he was (after all due deductions) something of a poet. It has been his fate from an early period to have his Latinity improved at the expense of his poetry. *Terga* has quite the air of a deliberate and conscious improvement. The accusative "of the part affected" would give much pleasure to the pedant who hit upon it; but it certainly does not improve the verse.

29. This reference gives the limit *a quo* for the date of this poem. The subject suggested is the siege of King Robert (of Naples, the city where the tomb of *Parthenope*, the Siren, was shewn) in Genoa by the allied forces of the Visconti and the Genoese exiles, which lasted from the beginning of July 1318 to the beginning of February 1319 (see pp. 50, 51). After he had been shut up in Genoa for more than six months, the King decided to assail the besiegers by land. On February 4th, his fleet of sixty

vessels, having on board eight hundred knights and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, together with auxiliaries from Florence and Bologna and the other Guelf cities of Tuscany and Romagna, sailed out of Genoa and approached the shore near Sesto. A mighty army of Ghibellines drew off from the siege to oppose the landing of the King's forces; but on February 5th, after a tremendous hand-to-hand battle, in which the Florentines and other Tuscans especially distinguished themselves, the royal troops effected their landing, under cover of the archers who kept up a heavy fire from the ships, and they completely defeated the opposing force with heavy slaughter. During the night the besieging host in the suburbs and hills round Genoa raised the siege and retreated precipitously, leaving all their baggage, although the King allowed no pursuit, fearing lest his forces should be cut off in the mountains (Villani, ix. 95). It is clearly to this latter *fatto d'arme* that Del Virgilio alludes, and the poem is probably only slightly later than the event.

In April the King left Genoa to visit the Pope at Avignon, and in the following July the Ghibellines renewed the siege. "Chi potrebbe scrivere e continuare il diverso assedio di Genova," asks Villani, "e le maravigliose imprese fatte per gli usciti co' loro allegati? Certo si stima per gli savi, che l'assedio di Troia, in sua comparazione, non fosse di maggiore continuamento di battaglie per mare e per terra." It will be observed that the subject, as recommended to Dante by Del Virgilio, is precisely analogous to the one actually treated in Latin verse by Mussato a few years later; in both Genoa and Padua we see a Guelf city besieged by a Ghibelline despot in alliance with her own Ghibelline exiles; in her desperate plight she appeals to a foreign sovereign (Robert of Naples in the one case, Frederick of Austria in the other), and receives him as her suzerain; in each case the contest ends by a victorious sally of the besieged army, with a consequent temporary raising of the blockade.

30-32. Poetical circumlocution for the four parts of world: west (Cadiz), north (Ister, i.e. the Danube), east (Pharos for Egypt), south (Carthage, the "realm once Dido's," for Africa). So the scholiast.

36. The scholiast on *Maronis* remarks, "that is, of Virgil, for Giovanni was called Del Virgilio"—which shows that Del Virgilio was not his family name.

37. In fact, Giovanni del Virgilio will for the nonce play the part now taken by the public orator in our English Universities.

39, 40. The construction is difficult. We take *sibi placuit prætendere* as equivalent to *gestit prætendere*, meaning 'exults to set forth.'

41-43. Del Virgilio probably refers to the preparations being made by both parties for an early renewal of the struggle for the possession of Genoa.

45. Pasqualigo would read, with the corrected *M*₁ and the other MSS., *ad te*, for *a te*. He objects to the common reading that *pendendo* cannot be used transitively, and proposes *pandando*, giving to *ad te pandando poetas* the sense 'inclining the other poets towards thee,' and alleging the *pandum delphina* of line 8 as indicating Del Virgilio's familiarity with this use of the word *pandare*. But this is very unsatisfactory. *Pandus* = 'curved' is a quite common word, and Ovid uses the very phrase *pandi delphines* in *Trist.* III. x. 43; whereas *pandare* is a rare word, and it means "to bend in an arc," not "to incline." It is straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel to be scandalized by *pendendo a te* and to substitute such a construction as *pandando ad te*. Even if we read *ad* and *poetas* (see below), still *pendendo ad te* taken as "hanging upon thyself" would be less remote from the Latinity of the period than Pasqualigo's suggested phrase. The truth is, that arguments founded on the assumption of the scrupulous correctness of Del Virgilio's Latinity must once for all be ruled out of court. See note on line 48. It is likely enough that Del Virgilio meant *pendendo* to be the gerund of *pendo*, not of *pendeo*. In that case he did not use an intransitive for a transitive, but gave a meaning to the transitive verb not found in the classical authors.

In this same line the editions read *poetas*, "keeping all other poets in suspense"; but the MSS. have *poeta*, "keeping all others waiting for thee as poet." It is indeed possible that Boccaccio intended *poetas*, since he often omits or imperfectly indicates the final *s*. On the whole, however, there seems no reason to depart from *poeta*, which is perhaps the stronger reading of the two. It may be noted, in support of this reading, that a competent reviser (of later date than the scholiast) supplied unequivocal *s*'s throughout the poems wherever he detected Boccaccio's sign for them, or suspected him of accidentally omitting it (see below, p. 269), and as he left *poeta* here we may assume that he believed that to be the true reading.

47. The last five lines of the poem present many difficulties. *M*₁, in line 47, reads *medianne*, which Fraticelli says "significa nulla." Dionisi substituted *mediane* and interpreted "mezzano o abitatore di mezzo il Po (abitando egli allora in Ravenna) per la fossa condotta dal fiume a quella città o per altro rispetto a noi ignota." The later editors have all followed him. *Medianus* is no doubt a well-authenticated word with a variety of meanings, but Fraticelli

is not right in saying that *medianne* "means nothing." It is Boccaccio's way of writing *mediamne*, which is also a well-authenticated substantive, applied, according to Maigne d' Arnis, to islands, but applicable to any one whose dwelling was surrounded by a stream. This, however, by no means ends our difficulties, for Ravenna cannot with any accuracy be said to be embraced by the mouths of the Po. In *Carmen* iv. 67, its position is defined as right of the Po and left of the Rubicon, and, in the celebrated passage, *Inf.* xvi. 94-96, Dante emphasizes the fact that the Montone is an independent stream, not a branch of the Po. Del Virgilio himself refers to the river at Ravenna as the Montone (not as a branch of the Po) in iii. 11-16 and vi. 12. On the other side Dante's *Inf.* v. 97-99 might be cited, though to say that Ravenna is situated on the shore "where Po descends with all his tributaries" is not to say that Ravenna lies in midstream of Po. Sidonius Apollinarius, however, in the fifth century, writes (*Epist.* i. 5.): "Insuper oppidum duplex pars interluit Padi certa, pars alluit; qui ab alveo principali molium publicarum discerptus objectu et per easdem derivatis tramitibus exhaustus hic dividua fluenta partitur, ut præbeant moenibus circumfusa præsidium infusa commercium." And Ricci, in *L' Ultimo Rifugio*, declares that the phrase is quite natural: "Giusto era chiamarlo abitatore in mezzo al Po, perocchè Ravenna allora era cinta da vari rami di quel fiume, come il Po di Primaro e il Padoveno, ed era attraversata dal Padenna, tutti canali o fiumi che col solo nome indicavano la loro provenienza."

48. *Visare* is only known to sound Latinity as the second person singular subjunctive present of *visere*; and most of the translators have made touching efforts to render it as such. But Pasqualigo rightly noted that Del Virgilio uses the gerund *visando* in iii. 46, though the editors have corrected him in that passage. There can be no kind of doubt therefore that *visare* here is to be taken as an infinitive, and the construction is 'a hope that thou mightest deign to visit me with a friendly letter.'

We may here enumerate the most obviously false grammatical forms which we have noted in Del Virgilio's poems: i. 45, *pendo* in the sense of 'hang,' or *pendeo* as a transitive; i. 48 and iii. 46, *visare* and *visando* as from a verb *viso*, *visare*, of the first conjugation; iii. 21, *gregium*; xi. 21, *bovium*. See further the note on *Carmen* v. 5.

51. *Solvere vota* ought to mean 'accomplish your vows,' i.e. keep your promise, and it is harsh to take it with Personi, Kannegiesser-Witte (and others), as 'satisfy my longings,' the difficulty being not in the use of *vota*, but in the use of *solvere*. Yet the passage cannot well be taken otherwise than as 'either write me your promised

letter, unless you are too much offended by my having anticipated you by this epistle, or else fulfil the longing of my heart by coming yourself in person and receiving the crown at my hands.' Those who have tortured lines 47, 48 into a record of a promise once made by Dante to visit Del Virgilio are absolved from the necessity of torturing this line 51, for they can translate 'answer my letter, or keep your word by paying me a visit.' But it is difficult to see how Pasqualigo, after rightly explaining lines 47, 48 as recording a promise of Dante's to *write* to Del Virgilio, can still translate *solvere vota* 'la promessa adempi,' and can be satisfied with so lame an antithesis as 'either answer me or write to me.' On the whole it seems the least evil to put a strain on the use of *solvere*. But we may perhaps still hope for some more convincing interpretation of the whole passage.

CARMEN II.

Line 1. *Lituris*. The scholiast is probably right in taking this as simply equivalent to *litteris*. Cf. Du Cange.

4. The scholiast states that this *Melibeus* is "a certain Ser Dino Perini of Florence." There is no mention of such a person in Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*; but in the *Commento sopra la Commedia* (lezione xxxiii.) Boccaccio represents Dino Perini as a rival to Andrea di Leone Poggi for the honour of having discovered the seven cantos which Dante is said to have left behind him when he was banished from Florence. After telling us how Gemma (as Andrea Poggi told him) sent Andrea to seek for the document she needed in the house that had been Dante's, and how he found these cantos among other things and brought them to the "most famous vernacular poet whose name was Dino di Messer Lambertuccio Frescobaldi," who despatched them to the Marquis Moroello Malaspina, Boccaccio adds: "Now this very same story exactly, almost without anything in it altered, was once told to me by a Ser Dino Perini, our citizen and a man of understanding and one that, according to his own account, had been as intimate a friend of Dante's as man could be; but it changes the fact inasmuch as he said that not Andrea Leoni, but he himself had been the man whom the lady had sent to the safe for the documents, and that he had found those seven cantos and brought them to Dino di Messer Lambertuccio. I do not know to which of these two I should lend more faith." There is absolutely nothing else known of this Dino; it is conjectured that he may have been the grandson of a Dino di Messer Giovanni Perini, who in 1280, in the Peace of the Cardinal Latino,

was one of the representatives of the Ghibellines of the Sesto di San Pier Scheraggio; he could not possibly have been the witty Dino of Florence mentioned by Petrarch in the *Rerum Memorabilium*. There is no special reason for supposing that he was an exile from Florence, as Carducci and others have done; indeed Boccaccio's words seem rather to imply that he was not.

6. Dante probably chose Tityrus as his own pastoral name because Virgil had done the same in his first Eclogue. The special appropriateness of Mopsus (from *Eclogue* v.) to Del Virgilio is not obvious. After Dante's death, Del Virgilio dropped the name of Mopsus and assumed that of Moeris, as he tells us in *Carmen* vi. 182.

7. Note the lengthening of *e* in Mopse in *cæsura*. Dante avails himself of this license with extraordinary frequency. There are four other instances in this poem, viz., in lines 14, 35, 50, 68, and no less than eight in the other Dantesque eclogue, viz., in iv. 28, 54, 59(?), 63, 68, 80, 85, 91. The only clear instances of a similar license in Del Virgilio occur in xi. 17, which is closely parallel to Dante's iv. 85, and in x. 5. Virgil takes the license of lengthening a short syllable in *cæsura* oftener than the other poets, e.g. *Ecl.* x. 69.

"*Omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori,*"

nor does he limit it to the main *cæsura*. Cf. *Aen.* xi. 111:

"*Oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem.*"¹

But we must note that of Dante's thirteen examples no less than seven present cases of the lengthening of an inflectional final vowel; of which there is only one single example in Virgil, viz., *Aen.* iii. 464:

"*Dona dehinc auro gravia sectoque elephantis?*"

9 *sqq.* We may gather from these lines that Melibœus, or Dino Perini, was not skilled in the higher branches of literature and could not have deciphered so intricate a poem as that of Del Virgilio. Did he assist Dante in his school of Italian poetry? or did he hold a readership in some of the humbler branches of learning in the Academy of Ravenna? Cf. lines 65, 66. In any case we seem to see him in the typical position of the student teacher of the Middle Ages, distracted from his proper academic functions on the one hand by his passion for extending his own

¹ These examples are given by Müller (*Metrik der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 61), who says that there are about fifty instances in Virgil altogether, whereas Ovid only has seven, and Horace only eleven.

learning, and on the other hand by his extreme anxiety as to where his dinner is to come from.

11-13. Mænalus, a range of mountains in Arcadia, sacred to Pan. Thus Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 22-24 :

"Mænalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentes
semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertes."

"Mænalian verses" (*ibid.* 21, etc.) means "pastoral poetry." The scholiast remarks that bucolic poetry, which is here understood by Mount Mænalus, is called "darkener of the sun," that is of the truth, because it uses pastoral ciphers and means very different things in the allegory and in the letter. The common practice of interpreting Virgil's Eclogues allegorically accounts for this idea of the scholiast's, with which we may further compare the statement by the annotator of the Naples MS., that Del Virgilio's first poem is written in bucolic style from the 26th line onward (see below, p. 211). This shows that the words "bucolic" and "allegorical" were regarded as synonyms, and thus Dante himself seems to use "Mænalus" as referring to the higher ranges of literature as represented by the studies of the University of Bologna. The curious reader may note in our Appendix I. that in this extended sense the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, for example, were written *bucolice* in a high degree!

14-17. A pleasing description of the function of a literary school, as a yielding channel, concealed and humble, through which a perpetual flow of spring water pours.

17. The MSS. read *mitis erat* (or *mitiserat*). The *mitis eat* of the editions is due to Dionisi.

19. No doubt a specific reference to Del Virgilio's study and exposition of Ovid, Virgil, and the other great Latin poets; Dante's description of his correspondent's students as "kine sporting on the waving grass" is distinctly genial. We gather, however, that the "lions" of line 22 would be a more appropriate description of the scholars of Bologna at this epoch, and we have already seen (p. 131) that the Commune had occasionally taken harsh measures to abate their roaring.

26. Instead of *prodiscere*, Pasqualigo reads *perdiscere*, and adds "non dubito di così correggere il *prodiscere* delle stampe." P₁ has this reading, but it is probably due merely to a careless expansion by the scribe of the contraction for *pro*.

29. Law was the chief study at Bologna, and doubtless Del Virgilio had to contend with the difficulties so well known to the Arts Professor in every great technical school. See note on line 37.

30. *perpalluit*. Cf. i. 7, note.

33. On Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel, see Ovid, *Met.* i. 452 *eqq.*

37. The reading of *M*₁ is *insonem*, and the scholiast explains it as "without fame"; but Pasqualigo rightly insists that, the *o* of *sonus* being short, any such interpretation is impossible. No doubt the editors are right in reading with Dionisi *insonnem*. The Muse cannot do more can keep Mopsus at his vigils. Cf. i. 7. See also the document quoted on page 133, which shows that Del Virgilio was the only lecturer on the Poets in the University of Bologna, and that he could scarcely find a living.

39-41. These lines present considerable difficulties. The usual interpretation takes them as meaning that Dante anticipated an immense ovation were he to accept Del Virgilio's offer, but that he dared not trust himself in such a nest of Guelfism as Bologna. To this, however, there are two objections. In the first place, Dante has just declared that the glory and the very name of poet have vanished into thin air; and in the next place, it is not easy to see why the mere apprehension of personal danger in Bologna should cause such deep "indignation" on Dante's part. Pasqualigo takes *ballatus* to mean 'hissing,' and, regarding the laurel crown as a reward due exclusively to Latin poetry, supposes Dante to mean that if he claimed a place among the Latin poets he would only be hissed down. But this is too violent to deserve serious discussion. Macri-Leone rightly rejects the interpretation of *ballatus* as 'hissing,' but in spite of himself he is a little scandalized by a "mighty bleating" as a serious description of an academic ovation. He takes refuge in the requirements of the pastoral cipher in which the poem is written. Even if he had had the privilege of witnessing the conferring of academic honours upon a distinguished poet, soldier, or adventurer in one of our own universities, he would still have regarded a "huge baa-ing" as happier from the point of view of descriptive accuracy than from that of poetic appropriateness; and, after all, his explanation is only a reversion to the current interpretation, and is open to the difficulties already urged against it. Is it possible that *quantos* may be used in a pejorative sense, 'what would they amount to!?' This would give a point to the pastoral cipher in *ballatus* instead of putting a strain upon it, and would bring the lines into close connection with the preceding lamentation on the small honour now paid to poets. 'What would the bleatings that the hills and pasture lands would utter forth amount to?' The breach of connection would then occur at the sudden turn taken by the next line,—'But, after all, why discuss it? For, if I entered Bologna, it would be at the peril of my life.'

No explanation yet given can be regarded as satisfactory.

41. On *timeam*, the scholiast notes, "idest conventari bononie." For *conventari* as more or less equivalent to our "graduate," Pasqualigo refers to the following passage from the *De Laudibus Papiæ* in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, xi., 26: "Multi sunt in Civitate peritissimi Medici, tam Physici, quam Chirurgici; nam inter alias Civitates illarum partium de ista plures mittuntur ad Scholas Bononiam, quæ illinc minus quatuor diætis distat. De qua vehiunt periti et docti in Legibus Decretalibus et Medicina multi, et quidam in iis Artibus conventati. Multi quoque sunt ibi docti in Theologia Clerici, Religiosi, et nonnulli Laici."

The scholiast rightly interprets the *saltus et rura ignara deorum* as Bologna that knows not the emperors, "for Bologna was then contrary to the party of Dante." There was a time when the Florentine exiles had been welcomed in Bologna and aided with money and men. But in 1306 the section of Bolognese Guelfs that resembled the Neri of Florence had finally got the upper hand in the Commune, and on March 10th they expelled from the city and territory of Bologna all foreigners excepting scholars, merchants, and ambassadors, including thus the Florentine Bianchi, and proscribed anew their own "Ghibellines." On April 5th, 1306, Bologna entered into an alliance with Florence and other Guelf cities, "to the exaltation of Holy Mother Church, of the King of Naples, and of the Guelf Party, and to the trampling down, depression, extermination, and perpetual death of the Ghibellines and Bianchi." It was followed by most severe *bandi* against the latter, by which it was permitted to any man to slay them with impunity, with the heaviest penalties for whoso should give them shelter (see E. Orioli, *Documenti sulla Fazione dei Bianchi*, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, series iii., vol. 14, fasc. 1-3). One of these documents is of peculiar interest inasmuch as, taken in conjunction with that of the Ghibelline convention of San Godenzo, it appears conclusively to prove that Dante's definite rupture with his fellow-exiles, after which he formed a party to himself, occurred between June 8th, 1302, when his name occurs with other Bianchi at San Godenzo, and June 18th, 1303, when he no longer appears among them in the long list of those who, under the leadership of Scarpetta degli Ordellaffi, signed an agreement with their allies in Bologna. And these enactments pretty faithfully reflect the spirit of the Bolognese Republic during the latter years of Dante's life, so it is not strange that he should have feared to visit such *saltus et rura ignara deorum*. It was now closely allied to King Robert, who in the latter part of 1318 and in the earlier part of 1319 was represented in Bologna by

that very Ranieri di Zaccaria of Orvieto who, while acting as royal vicar in Florence in 1315, had sentenced Dante and his two sons to be beheaded if they ever fell into his hands or into those of the Commune of Florence. In this very year in which Dante is writing, 1319, a band of so-called Ghibelline exiles who had made an excursion into Bolognese territory had been cut to pieces and their leaders hanged.

42-44. Cf. the famous passage in the *Paradiso*, xxv. 1-12. Thus Boccaccio: "Hoping that by poesy he might achieve the unwonted and glorious honour of the crown of laurel, he gave himself all to her both in study and composing. And of a surety his desire would have come to pass, had Fortune been so gracious to him as to suffer him ever to return to Florence; for in her alone, and over the font of San Giovanni, was he disposed to take the crown, to the end that where he had taken his first name by baptism, in that same place he might take his second name by coronation. But so it came about that, albeit his sufficiency was such that in whatsoever place he would he might have had the honour of the laurel (which, though it increase not knowledge, yet is the most certain token and adornment of its acquisition), in his sole waiting for that return which should ne'er come to pass, he would receive it in no other place. Wherefore he so died without the much-desired honour" (*Vita*, § 8).

Flavescere presents a certain difficulty, inasmuch as Boccaccio (*Vita*, § 8) states that Dante's complexion was dark, "his hair and beard thick, black, and curling." Cf. iii. 44, *note*.

On the form *Sarnus* see the Scholium. Dante uses it in the *De Vulg. Eloquentia*, i. 6, 19, and in *Epist.* iii. 13 (if this letter is really his), vi. 198, and vii. 191.

45. *Propter quod*, 'wherefore,' used rather violently as equivalent to 'and so I must put it on this ground.'

47. All the translations before Pasqualigo made nonsense of this line. The *quas* (referring of course to *capellæ*) is governed by *concepturis*, which agrees with *matribus*, the indirect object of *dedimus*, of which *hircos* is the direct object. The milch goats that they themselves had bred were already ageing. 'Ipsi dedimus hircos matribus concepturis capellas quæ jam senuere.'

48, 49. The scholiast is clearly wrong in taking *infera regna* as equivalent to *inferna regna*, and in interpreting Dante as saying that he will rejoice to be crowned when the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* shall be finished as he has finished the *Inferno*. The "lower realms" include both Hell and Purgatory, and the "bodies that flow round the world" are the revolving heavens. See Ponta, *op. cit.*,

pp. 347-349, 353-355. Personi translated the passage correctly, but Orelli expressly rejected his interpretation, which was afterwards adopted by Fraticelli and is now generally accepted.

51. *Concedat Mopsus* is to be taken in direct connection with what precedes: 'I shall rejoice to encircle my brow with ivy and laurel, if Mopsus will give me leave.' Compare note on vi. 21.

52, 53. Similarly in the Letter to Cane (§ 10) the speech of the *Commedia* is said to be *loquutio vulgaris, in qua et muliercule communicant*. Cf. *De V.E.*, i. 1, ii. 4.

58-62. This *ovis gratissima* can surely be nothing else than the *Commedia* or, more specifically, the *Paradiso*, ten cantos of which Dante will send to his correspondent to convert him from his contempt of vernacular poetry. Note the *sponte venire solet*, etc., of line 62. This testimony to the spontaneity of the inspiration of the *Paradiso* comes as a welcome and beautiful complement to the well known

Si che m' ha fatto per più anni macro.

It shows us the "wise passiveness" and serenity of mind which lay open to the inspiration, the garb of which was then fashioned with such intense toil. The combination is of course by no means unique. Shelley declared: "Poetry is not like reasoning, a power to be exerted according to the determination of the will. A man cannot say, 'I will compose poetry.' The greatest poet even cannot say it; for the mind in creation is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness; this power arises from within, like the colour of a flower which fades and changes as it is developed, and the conscious portions of our natures are unprophetic either of its approach or its departure"; and it was this same Shelley of whom Wordsworth said, "Shelley is one of the best artists of us all; I mean in the workmanship of style."

63. The proper quality of the *o* in *proetolor* is a matter of uncertainty. Facciolati says "De quantitate pœnultimæ lis est. Apud Veteres nihil invenies quod rem conficiat."

65, 66. Cf. lines 9, 10, and the *quippe nec panis deficiet* which closes Dante's *Epistle ix*.

68. *Parva tabernacula nobis dum*, etc. The final *a* of *tabernacula* is lengthened in cæsura. Cf. note on line 7. Fraticelli introduced an *et* before *nobis*, and reads *parva tabernacula et nobis*, saving the scansion but ruining the sense. He has been followed by the Oxford Dante and by Pasqualigo. Orelli, Scolari, and Kraft, as also the *Editio Princeps* of 1719, rightly follow the reading of the MSS.: *parva tabernacula nobis*.

CARMEN III.

Lines 1, 2. The Reno and the Savena flow N. from the Apennines, the former W. and the latter E. of Bologna. Some miles short of Bologna, the Savena turns E. and joins the Idice and continues to take an E. course. The Reno comes very near to Bologna on the W., then flows directly N. for many miles until it sweeps round to S.E., and before it reaches the Adriatic receives the waters of the Savena and the Idice, far E. of Bologna. Thus neither stream flows by its natural course through Bologna, but just at the point where the bed of the Savena first turns E., as described above, a dam and canal take off almost the whole of its permanent flow of water to the E. side of Bologna; and in a similar way the waters of the Reno are brought to the W. side and flow through the city. These two streams leave Bologna by separate channels and flow side by side till they enter the Reno. The description of Bologna then as the place where the Savena comes to meet the Reno (without joining him) is scrupulously accurate. Cf. *Carmen* vi. 104-106.

The interpretation of *viridi* is less satisfactory. Dionisi notes "*La Savena è spartita in due rami, detti la Savena vecchia e la nuova: per questo la dice aspersa i nevosi crini di verde.*" Presumably the two branches of the Savena referred to are the river bed and the canal as described above, though we cannot ascertain that they are ever known as the old and new Savena. But even were it so, nothing could well be more frigid than to represent the nymph as 'mingling white and green hair,' because the river is separated into an old and new branch. We should be inclined to refer the *niveos* of this passage and the corresponding *glaucoos* of vi. 105 to the permanently turbid character of the stream, and the *viridi* of the two passages to some characteristic of the banks or bed of the river.

3. *Nativo antro* is taken by Macri-Leone (*op. cit.*, p. 56) to indicate that Del Virgilio was a native of Bologna. This is probably right, though the phrase in itself need not imply more than a "natural grotto." See Facciolati sub verbo *nativus*.

4, 5. The scholiast's elaboration of the oxen, lambs, and goats into three orders or ages of scholars will raise a smile on the reader's lips, but the closer our study of these pastorals the less we shall be inclined to put aside such refinements of interpretation as in themselves improbable.

6, 7. Cf. ii. 29, *note*.

8. *Nixa* is said by the scholiast, in his note on line 63, to represent Del Virgilio's wife. She is spoken of in line 58 as *ίψα*, which tends

to some extent to confirm this statement since *ipse* and *ipsea* are applied specifically to the master and mistress of an establishment (see Key, Latin-English Dictionary, sub voce *Ipse*); but Del Virgilio employs *ipse* so freely that unless specific evidence of this usage in his circle were forthcoming, we should not be justified in laying too much stress on the point. (Cf. line 45, note). *Alexis* is merely described by the scholiast as *famulus*, nor have we any clue to his identity.

11-17. This involved sentence has proved too much for the scribes and for most of the editors. Boccaccio's MS. originally read *umbra* in line 11 and *qua* in line 12. Subsequent scribes added an *m* to *umbra* and then cancelled it, and likewise added an *m* to *qua*, so that *quam* was adopted by Dionisi and the subsequent editors. *Qua*, however, was restored by that inspired bungler Giuliani, who amidst all his audacious futilities sometimes, as here, hits a bird on the wing. Perhaps the best comment upon the passage will be an *ordo verborum* after the fashion of the Delphin classics: "Sibilus leniter flantis Euri sua sponte retulit mihi sonum carminis Tityri, canentis sub umbra memorum in litore Adriatico; quo in loco densæ pinus, tollentes se versus celos et se proferentes genio loci, longa serie cingunt pascua redolentia mirtetis et floribus humi nascentibus, et fluvius *Montone* rigat ipsas arenas, dum fluit in mare cum undis placidis; quo sibilo spirante," etc. Compare with the whole passage vi. 9-12, 228, 229.

18-21. The song that came upon the breeze was such as delights the ear of the Arcadian swain, or rather did in more blessed ages, for it is now long years since even the Arcadians themselves have heard such music.

22-25. The song is heard not only by Mopsus, but by the denizens of Arcady, whose ancient delights it revives. We must not take 18-25 as referring to Mopsus and his companions, for Mopsus is in solitude throughout the scene. His companions are only mentioned as returning at the end of the eclogue, line 97. But a pastoral song has a twofold existence, as though the renowned echo of the pine-woods of Mænalus "took their own wherever they found it." They did not suffer Tityrus to sing to Mopsus without being heard by the nymphs and shepherds of Arcady.

28, 29. Del Virgilio distinctly states in vi. 6-9, that no bucolic poem had been written in Latin since Virgil's day till the interchange of verses took place between himself and Dante. Cf. the scholiast on the present passage (l. 26) and on vi. 8. On the score of historical accuracy this assertion is subject to some deduction. Titus Calpurnius wrote eclogues in the reign of Nero; Alcuin and

his disciples in the Court of Charlemagne wrote elegies which presented certain analogies with bucolic poetry; and there are a few cases of Benedictines, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, composing would-be Virgilian Bucolics in honour of saints (see Macri-Leone's chapter, *La bucolica latina medievale anteriore al secolo xiv.*, pp. 9-42). But it proves conclusively that Del Virgilio himself had not been in the habit of writing eclogues. Pasqualigo, therefore, is probably right in interpreting these lines as a reference to his exposition of Virgil. Orelli had anticipated him in this interpretation.

31, 32. *Calamis majoribus* refers to the heroic style of his own first poem to Dante, and the *tenues* to the pastoral strain which Tityrus had waked.

34. Dionisi, who (like the other editors) places a full stop at the end of the line, added an unnecessary *est* with the note: "l' ho aggiunto io: chi non lo approva lo cassi." It is unfortunate that subsequent editors have not availed themselves of this permission.

35. Melibœus (Dino Perini) has apparently joined Mopsus since Dante wrote his Eclogue. Cf. lines 61 and 71. As we find him back again at Ravenna in the next poem, we may fairly assume that he represents the *sibylus Euri* of line 17, or, in other words, that he was the bearer of Dante's missive. He was evidently the bearer of Del Virgilio's reply also (iv. 29, etc.).

Licuit was substituted by Dionisi for the second *liceat* of this line. His note is: "Nel MS. *liceat*. Ma *licuit* è fuor di contesa"; and he has been followed by all the editors. But this gives a very lame sense. 'Let Mopsus take the privilege which was granted to Melibœus.' What privilege? The privilege of addressing Tityrus? But this privilege Mopsus had already taken. The privilege of conversing with him in pastoral fashion? But Melibœus had written no eclogues, and it is overstraining a point to regard the very modest place he takes in Dante's first poem as constituting a precedent for Mopsus. Dionisi himself thought the reference was not to the Melibœus of Dante's Eclogue, but to Virgil's Melibœus in *Ec.* i. or *Ec.* vii., but this is very unsatisfactory. If we preserve the *liceat* of the MSS. and put a full stop at the end of verse 24, we have to put a rather violent interpretation upon *sicut*, but we then get an admirable sense. "Thou art a second Virgil, or, if we are to believe the sage of Samos, thou art Virgil's self. And so may I have leave to think, as so may Melibœus also," i.e. 'to Melibœus and me at any rate you are Virgil himself.' But it is, perhaps, more probable that *sicut* is a corruption of *sic et*. We must then make the *liceat* (bis) of verse 35 dependent on the *si* of 34, and we shall get a fair sense

and construction. We have with much hesitation ventured upon this emendation.

When we remember how extremely proud Del Virgilio was of his own claim to be considered the representative and modern embodiment of Virgil's muse, we shall find, in this tribute, a fresh evidence of his frank and generous nature. It is easy to forgive such a man his vanity.

44. Dante had spoken of himself (ii. 44) as *solitus flavescere* though now hoary. Whatever the interpretation may be, the phrase certainly refers to the colour of Dante's youthful locks. Del Virgilio catches at the word, and though he cannot promise Dante a renewal of his youth, he declares that his locks shall "glow" once again,—this time under the laurel leaf.

45. It is difficult to see who this *Phyllis* can be, except Dante's wife, Gemma. Carducci indeed suggested that she is merely an impersonification of Florence, which is rather a forced interpretation. The title *ipsa* may possibly be taken as proper to the mistress of the house. Cf. line 8, *note*. If we adopt this interpretation, it does not indeed constitute any evidence of affection for Gemma on Dante's part, but it shows at any rate that there was not any notorious rupture between the two, known to the poet's friends. Had it been otherwise, Del Virgilio would hardly have ventured upon what would have been a highly tactless allusion. The inference is confirmed by the author of the *Ottimo Commento* (who was a Florentine, personally acquainted with Dante), and by Benvenuto da Imola, both of whom, in commenting upon *Parad.* xvii. 55, 56, expressly include Dante's wife in the *ogni cosa diletta più caramente*. We may refer also to the expressions used by Petrarch in his letter to Boccaccio about Dante (*Epistolæ de Rebus Familiaribus*, Florence, 1863, bk. xxi., Epist. 15): "Quem non civium injuria, non exilium, non paupertas, non simultatum aculei, non amor coniugis, non natorum pietas ab arrepto semel calle distraxerit."

46. *Visando*. Cf. i. 48, *note*.

The text and interpretation of this line present some difficulty. The MSS. read *uvas*. Dionisi substituted *ulvas*, which was accepted by subsequent editors, and is particularly applauded by Pasqualigo. But the emendation is very unsatisfactory. *Tegetes* and *ulvas* are both substantives, and it is not easy to see how Pasqualigo gets "*I giunchi rivedrai del tuo casale*" out of the line. Unless some better emendation can be suggested, it seems preferable to keep to the MS. reading and make what we can of it. *Tegetes* is interpreted by the scholiast as *siguria*, and Maigne d' Arnis

gives *domuncula*, *maisonnette*, as the meaning of *teges*. In classical Latinity it appears to have no such meaning. It is properly a mat made out of reeds (*ulvae*), which may have suggested *ulvas* to Dionisi; but Columella (*De Re Rustica*, v. 5) says that his uncle, whom he regards as a great authority, used to protect his vines from the heat just before the rise of the dog-star *palmis tegetibus*, which we take to mean "screens made of palm leaves"; and the same author (xii. 50) enumerates amongst the apparatus requisite for the olive harvest *cannae tegetes, quibus oliva excipitur*. And again: "Sereni coelo manibus distringi olivam oportebit, et substratis *tegetibus* aut *cannis* cribrari et purgari." These passages cannot refer to baskets, which have been already mentioned (*corbula*, . . . *quibus districta bacca excipitur*), and would seem to refer to a rack on which the olives are to be put to drain, a process on which Columella lays great stress. It would seem then that *teges* may mean *rack* or *trellis*. Does this explain the transition to the meaning of a hut? and was it specifically a vine-clad or trellised hut originally? If so, we should have a perfect explanation of the passage: 'when thou dost visit again thy trellised cot, how thou wilt love to gaze upon the clusters!'¹

52-55. The scholiast gives a somewhat fantastic allegorical interpretation of these lines, taking the "grot" to be the University and "sweet marjoram" philosophy.

56, 57. See lines 8 and 45, *notes*. Alexis and Corydon presumably stand for real persons, members of Del Virgilio's circle and probably known to Dante by name and repute. We have no clue for their identification nor for that of Testilis in line 59. It is tempting to hazard an hypothesis that one of them may possibly be the young Graziolo dei Bambaglioli, the first Bolognese commentator on Dante and the first defender of Dante's orthodoxy, who was then in Bologna, though not yet Chancellor of the Commune, a post to which he was elected in 1321.

59-61. The scholiast quaintly interprets the "mushrooms" as the "*dicta antiquorum magistrorum*." Pliny, up and down in the botanical sections of the Natural History, gives many antidotes to poisonous

¹This note had been already written before we had the opportunity of consulting Orelli; and it was therefore with singular pleasure that we read his comment, which fully confirms our interpretation. He gives Dionisi's proposed correction and then adds: "*At quoniam, quæso, sensu? Nove nec tamen prorsus absurde, Ioannes Dantis lecta patria (Florentiam) ad eum scribens vocat 'tuas tegetes, quas' id est, quasi trichilas tuas vitibus inumbratas*"—*Trichila* is explained by Facciolati as "a covered walk made of vines or the like."

or unwholesome fungi, and also mentions many medicinal uses to which the allium is applicable; but he does not specify the allium as useful against fungus poison. Following the scholiast's suggestion as to the fungi, we might be tempted to understand Del Virgilio to refer to the advisability of taking the stories of "ancient professors" with the proverbial grain of salt, and the reader of Appendix I. will think that Del Virgilio himself must be taken with as much of this condiment as another!

Melibœus, or Dino Perini, having brought Dante's epistle to Del Virgilio, is apparently making the best of his stay in Bologna to get matter for a new course of lectures at Ravenna. Have we not already (ii. 26) heard him express a wish to learn some of Del Virgilio's *ignota carmina* in his wandering goats' behoof! Del Virgilio, however, appears doubtful as to the quality of the "mushrooms" which the genial young Florentine may have culled in these learned Bolognese "orchards," so that the random shaft of the later scholiast who calls him a *stultus doctor* seems pretty well to hit the mark.

71. Note the imperfect *amabat* and compare line 35, *note*.

72-76. We have already seen, ii. 41, *note*, what good cause Dante had to fear these groves. Del Virgilio seems to imply that the authorities either had given or had undertaken to give the poet a safe conduct, but such things were by no means scrupulously respected in the fourteenth century, as we have already seen in the case of Padua (see pp. 26, 27). Macri-Leone (p. 66) well observes that Del Virgilio's own fate put his confidence to shame and justified Dante's caution. See pp. 133, 134.

80-83. Iolas, as the scholiast states with obvious accuracy, is Guido Novello da Polenta. The lines "No cave is safer now than are those tabernacles" are a pleasant testimony to what a contemporary document styles the *pacificus et tranquillus status nobilis et potentis Militis Guidonis Novelli de Polenta potestatis Ravennæ* (Decision of the Council of Comacchio, cited by Ricci, p. 36).

The Muso is thus described by Scardeone:¹ "In agro præterea Patavino a parte septentrionali insunt rivi peramœni, et placidi plerique, qui è fontibus apud campum Samperium scaturire cernuntur. Et primus Muso, qui inde per Stianum et Miranum (cf. *Purg.* v. 79) præterfluit, tam ad rigandos agros, quam ad molas farinarias rotandas: et inde crebris anfractibus flexuosus usque

¹ In his *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, etc. Libri tres. Basileæ, 1560, p. 20.

Venetias navigia minora perducit." Belloni (*op. cit.*, p. 366) points out that the Paduan seal bore the legend,

Muson Mons Athes Mare certos dat mihi fines.

Athes is the ancient *Ateste*, the modern *Este*; and the *Mons* of course is the Euganean range.

88, 89. The editions, except Orelli's, read :

"Ne contemne; sitim Phrygio Musone lavabo :

Scilicet hoc nescis, fluvio potator avito."

but all the MSS. read *ne*; and *potator* is a purely fictitious reading. The MSS. have *portabor* or *potabor*. For details see "Description of the MSS." pp. 277 *sqq.*

On *Musone* the scholiast notes "id est Mussato poeta paduano," and on *avito*, "quia avus Mopsi fuit paduanus"; besides which the following passage occurs in the note at the end of the Eclogues in the Naples MS. : "fuit namque hic Joannes Virgilianus natione bononiensis habitans in porta nova ante ecclesiam sancti salvatoris; quamvis ut ipse in alia egloga testatur majores sui fuerint paduani." There is no means of ascertaining the source from which the Naples scholiast drew his information, but we agree with Macri-Leone in thinking that his detailed statements bear internal evidence of being derived from some authentic source. We gather then that Del Virgilio strengthens his appeal to Dante by saying that if he scorns to visit him, Del Virgilio, he can promise him a meeting with Mussato, with whose city he himself claims an ancestral connection. And it is a fact that Mussato came to Bologna about the end of August or the beginning of September in 1319, and that Del Virgilio was fully intending to claim acquaintance with him as a brother-poet (p. 52 and *Carmen* vi. 109-112, *note*). Thus this line 88 taken in conjunction with i. 29 (see *note*) fixes the date of the whole correspondence up to this point as falling between the beginning of February and the end of August 1319.

The commentators for the most part accept the connection between line 88 and Mussato's embassy; but by reading *ne* for *me* they lose the force of the appeal; and, moreover, since they read *potator* in line 89, they most of them pour contempt on the scholiast's explanation of line 89, and take it as meaning that Dante was unacquainted with the works of Mussato because he was "a drinker from the ancestral stream," namely, vernacular literature. One would hardly know where to begin in pointing out the insuperable objections to every single point involved in this strange piece of exegesis; but happily the restoration of the true reading absolves us from the task.

Orelli's critical instinct led him unhesitatingly to restore the *me* of line 88, and he went on to refer the *situm* not to Dante, but to Del Virgilio himself: 'If you despise me, I will console myself with Mussato.'

This interpretation has recently been revived and very ably enforced by Belloni (*Giornale Storico*, Turin, 1893), who reads *me* in line 88 and *potabor* in line 89. Belloni was not aware that he had been anticipated by Orelli, but he had observed Witte's curious note: "Joh. de Virgilio gibt seine Bitte nicht ohne einige Ironie auf: Wolan, verachte mich und meine Wünsche; dann werde ich meinen Durst an dem Phrygier Musso (dem bekannten Florentiner [sic!] Dichter Albertino Mussato) zu stillen suchen. Du willst ja doch von diesen Dingen (der lateinischen Poesie, die dir in *Bologna* die Dichterkrone gewährt hätte) nichts wissen, und allein aus dem Strome Deiner Altvordern trinken." This, as Belloni observes, is quite inconsistent with Kannegiesser's translation in the same work:

"So nimm denn keinen Anstand! Das Gewässer
Des Phrygers Muso wird den Durst dir löschen.
Du kennst vielleicht ihn nicht, gewohnt zu trinken
Den Fluss der Heimat,"

and shows that Witte read *me*. This may well puzzle Belloni; but the riddle is easily solved. Witte shows elsewhere that he was acquainted with Orelli's edition, and he was evidently writing this portion of his notes with Orelli's text, not Kannegiesser's translation, before him. Hence his adoption of Orelli's interpretation of the passage.

Belloni has learnt that *potator* is a fictitious reading, but he has evidently not had *M*₁ under his own eyes, as he takes *potabor* unquestioningly as the original reading of that MS.; but this does not affect his argument, which is a very powerful one and should be read *in extenso*. Here we can only summarize the most important portions of it. Taking *Phrygio Musone* to refer not to Mussato's person, but to his poetry only, Belloni denies the reference of this line to Mussato's anticipated embassy, and is thus enabled to allow a longer period than we have done for the first three poems, and to contract the inconveniently long period which our chronology allows between Del Virgilio's second poem and Dante's death. He would place this poem well on in 1320, about a year, in fact, before Dante's death, in strict accordance with the scholiast's story (see pp. 271 and 308, 309.)

Against this it may be urged that whether it is Dante's or Del Virgilio's thirst that is to be slaked (see below), in any case the context demands a person, not a book. "Despise *me* if you will, but

you will not despise Mussato." Or "if you scorn me, I will console myself with Mussato." And we know that as a fact Del Virgilio confidently anticipated making Mussato's personal acquaintance on the occasion of his embassy. We can hardly regard it as a coincidence that such an embassy actually took place and that Mussato's mind was full of it at the exact date required on the current hypothesis. Moreover the scholiast understands Mussato himself, and his authority is not lightly to be set aside. The alleged chronological difficulties are not serious. After all, the distance from Ravenna to Bologna is only about fifty miles. Melibœus could have covered the ground in a couple of days without "panting," and we can even allow him time for gathering mushrooms in Bologna, and still have many weeks unfilled between February and August. The long period, by our chronology, between the second Eclogue and Dante's death, is not quite so easily explained; but on any hypothesis the scholiast's words imply that Dante did not at once dispatch his missive even when, after long delay, he had written it. If he never completed it, the difficulty disappears. In any case it is not serious.

Belloni further agrees with Orelli in taking line 88 not as an appeal to Dante, but as a playfully petulant declaration on Del Virgilio's part that, after all, if Dante scorns him he will not be inconsolable; and he very appositely points out that the whole of this portion of the poem is closely modelled on Virgil's *Eclogue* ii. In this poem Corydon offers his rustic gifts to Alexis and fears that Iolas will outbid him. In our poem Del Virgilio plays the part of Corydon, Dante is his Alexis, and Guido Novello is the Iolas who will keep Alexis with him. Now, in the last lines of Virgil's poem, Corydon turns to himself and expostulates with his own madness (just as Mopsus does in line 80 of our poem), and in the last line of all he tries to console himself by saying that he will find some other Alexis after all, if this Alexis despises him.

"Invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim."

Mussato¹ then is to be Del Virgilio's "other Alexis" if Dante despises him.

The argument is undoubtedly strong, but we would urge the following considerations against it:

1°. The emphatic position of the *me* requires an antithesis, which Orelli and Belloni do not give us: 'Though you despise *me*, I will

¹ Belloni says Mussato's poems; but surely this part of his argument will be still stronger if we say Mussato's self.

offer you something you cannot despise.' It is almost impossible for the careful student of Del Virgilio's latinity to resist the conviction that, had he meant to convey the meaning Orelli and Belloni assign to him, he would have expressed it by means of a subjunctive (see commentary on vi. 21). Not with the pretension of giving even a tolerable verse, but simply to illustrate the point of syntax, we would suggest that he would have given it some such turn as this :

'Contemnas, Phrygio fauces Musone lavabo.'

This is indeed our answer to Belloni. The line will not bear the meaning put upon it. The other considerations we have to bring forward are not in themselves conclusive.

2°. Del Virgilio's imitations of Virgil are less subtle and keep closer to the phraseology than is here supposed.

3°. A careful comparison of our poem with Virgil's Eclogue will show that on Belloni's hypothesis Del Virgilio with elaborate care dislocated his original, and, by throwing in an imitation of Virgil's lines 63-68 between his imitations of lines 69 and 73, destroys the whole effect.

We would not attempt, however, to disguise the strength of Belloni's argument, and must leave our readers to form their own conclusions.

90, 91. This appears to be a common form with Del Virgilio to explain why he breaks off an occupation or fails to carry out an intention (cf. vi. 150). In that case it would be vain to seek for any specific reference here.

96. The scholiast surely misreads Del Virgilio's character, for once, when he says that this line is a tacit rebuke to Dante. When he apologized for his audacity in sending poetry to a poet, it would not occur to him that Dante's promise was open to the same reproach. Del Virgilio does not address either Dante or Mussato as an equal. He would regard as condescension in them what he would think of as audacity in himself. Vanity (of which Del Virgilio had his share) is quite compatible with modesty.

CARMEN IV.

Lines 1-4. There seems little room for doubt as to the meaning of this passage. *Eous* (one of the horses of the sun) and his yoke-fellows had thrown off the golden clouds of sunrise and were bearing the solar chariot in mid sky just at its highest point

before beginning the descent. But several of the commentators have found a difficulty in the *velleribus Colchis*. Orelli prefers to take the words as referring to the shining rays of the noon-day sun "*se detegens et patefaciens mortalibus aureis suis radiis*"; and Pasqualigo (followed by Macri-Leone) takes this passage as referring to the time of year, not the time of day. He understands that the sun had just passed out of Aries, that is to say, the spring was well advanced. Plumptre introduces a pleasing variety by translating *detectus* 'bedecked' instead of 'uncovered,' and says that the sun was in Aries. But apart from other difficulties, the imagery of the chariot and horses of the sun is too firmly appropriated to the daily course of the luminary to be capable of transference to his annual course. In short, it may be open to question whether it is poetically appropriate to represent the shining clouds of sunrise as horse-cloths, woven out of the golden fleece, but it is hardly open to doubt whether the poet does so represent them here. It is indeed some hours now since the celestial horses were stripped of these glorified cloths; but this is not inconsistent with Dante's usage. Cf. *Parad.* i. 43-45, where the mention of what had taken place at sunrise in immediate connection with the hour of noon has led many commentators astray.

5, 6. These lines again have given the commentators great difficulty, but we may find the clue to their interpretation in lines 90, 91. When evening drew on the sun was so low that 'the shadow of every object far exceeded in length (*vinceret*) the object itself,' but now at mid-day we have the opposite condition of things, and 'all objects that "catch the sun" (*res refulgentes*), that is to say, all bodies that cast a shadow, though formerly (*solite*, cf. *solitum flavescere*, ii. 44) exceeded in length by their shadows, now in their turn surpass them in length (*vincebant*), and leave the fields unprotected under the blazing sun.'

Pasqualigo is compelled by his interpretation of lines 1-4 to explain *res refulgentes* as the day and *umbra* as the night; whereas it seems certain that if Dante used *res refulgentes* to signify any celestial phenomenon it would be the stars, not the sun or daylight.

12-15. Plumptre is apparently the only translator or editor who has understood this passage. He translates it:

"Tityrus reclined,

Now full of years, beneath a maple's shade,
By the soft, slumbrous fragrance sleep-oppressed,
While on his thick-knobbed staff, from pear-tree torn,
Alphesibceus leant, that he might speak."

All the others, even including Orelli, take the words *nodoseque piri vulso de stirpe bacillo stabat subnixus* as referring to Tityrus, in flat contradiction to line 13 and lines 32, 33. Of course they really refer to Alpheisibœus.¹

The scholiast tells us that "Alpheisibœus" is the pastoral cipher for "Magister Fiducio dei Milotti of Certaldo, physician, who was then dwelling at Ravenna." Absolutely nothing else is known of this personage; but in a Ravennese document of 1344 we have the will of a certain Rengarda, "uxor quondam magistri Fiducii medici." Fiducio appears to be a Tuscan name, or at least practically unknown in Romagna, so it seems a fairly safe inference that this lady was the widow of Dante's medical friend (see Ricci, *L' Ultimo Rifugio*, pp. 101, 102, 451).

16, 17. Cf. *Parad.* iv. 32-63, and note that Alpheisibœus adopts without hesitation and without rebuke the opinion which, according to Beatrice, was so full of poison—a slight point, perhaps, but one not altogether to be neglected in considering the authenticity of this Eclogue. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, first series: Oxford, 1896, pp. 157-160) has carefully investigated the doctrine of the *Timæus* on the subject of the souls and the stars, and has shown that neither in the original nor in the Latin version of Calcidius does the text of the *Timæus* fully support the inference drawn as to Plato's belief, in *Parad.* iv. and *Conv.* ii. 14, 25 *sqq.*; iv. 21, 17 *sqq.*

17. Dionisi edited "*unde fuere, nove*," but himself expressed a doubt whether it might not be equally well to read *unde fuere nove*. The question is of no great importance, but the reading we have adopted seems to be more in Dante's manner.

27. See *Æneid*, iii. 612-691. A lurid picture of the great Guelf city painted in pastoral-Ghibelline colours. Cf. lines 47, 75, *notes*.

29. Melibœus, or Dino Perini, is hurrying back from his Bolognese experiences with Del Virgilio's Epistle. Cf. iii. 59-61, *note*.

31. See *Æneid*, v. 268-272.

42, 43. The flute recited Del Virgilio's poem, three lines short of a hundred verses.

46, 47. Dante having called Bologna "the parched rocks of the Cyclopes under Etna," proceeds to style Ravenna "the dewy pastures of Pelorus." Here, again, Bologna is "the Cyclopes' cave." The scholiast interprets Cyclops as "tyrant," but does not specify. See note on *Polyphemus*, line 75.

¹ My friend Mr. Francis H. Jones first directed my attention to this blunder, and, thanks to him, it was avoided in my "Provisional Translation," privately printed in 1898.—P. H. W.

51-53. The allusion is, of course, to Midas' ass's ears (his temples, therefore, "turpissima"), to his barber's whispering the secret to the rushes and their proclamation of it to the world; and further to Midas freeing himself from the touch of gold, at the bidding of Bacchus, by bathing in the Pactolus, whose sands became thenceforth tinctured with gold. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 92 *sqq.*

59. Plumptre supposes that Pachynus stands for the kingdom of Naples, and interprets this line as meaning that the hostility of King Robert will cease "because it would be satisfied with what would be Dante's ruin."

Possibly *invidia* is to be taken as an ablative, "And Pachynus' self will fall away from the envy it now cherishes." See note on *Carmen* ii. 7.

66. The Muses. The story of Pyreneus is given at length in *Carmen* vi. 264-274. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v. 273-293.

67-75. Here, again, we have the contrast between Etna or Bologna and Pelorus or Ravenna. It is difficult to see how Dante can properly declare that he has *left* Ravenna (expressed in literal geographical terms) and *gone* to Ravenna (expressed in pastoral cipher). Orelli suggests the following interpretation of the whole allegory of these lines: "Joannes meus de toto meo statu ex rebus, quæ vulgo apparent, ipse quoque judicat: quocirca, Ravennam ut relinquam Bononiamque deligam futuro domicilio, me impense hortatur; at vero haud satis intelligit, re vera quod ad mentem attinet, me totum vivere ac versari in Sicilia, id est, in studiis poeticiis, quibus otium contingat necesse est; quapropter Bononiam me conferre nolo, ubi a Polyphemo, id est, a parte Guelfa eiusque principibus, et perpetuæ contentiones et pericula mihi instarent." The suggestion strikes us as far fetched and unsatisfactory, but we give it for what it is worth. Orelli's interpretation of line 89 (q. v.) is connected with it.

75. We take *Polyphemus* as the pastoral cipher for King Robert of Naples, whose vicar had sentenced Dante and his sons to death, and who was still potent in Bologna, although he no longer ruled the province of Romagna (see p. 78 and ii. 41, *note*). Dante, when in scriptural rather than in pastoral mood, calls him Goliath, *Epist.* vii. 8. Another claimant to the dubious honour is Romeo de' Pepoli, who was then practically ruler of Bologna; but neither his character nor his politics quite bear out his claim (see pp. 133-135). Ricci, on the other hand, supposes that the reference is to one of the Caccianemici, who, we know from Benvenuto da Imola, desired to revenge the shame of *Inferno* xviii.

76-78. The story of Acis and Galatea is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*,
Q

xiii. 750 *sqq.* There is probably an allusion to some actual atrocities committed under the royal authority, but the clue is now lost.

82. Achemenides, the companion of Ulysses, left behind in the Cyclops' den, relates to Æneas and his followers the atrocities he has witnessed. See *Æneid*, iii. 612, etc. Under the pastoral cipher are probably concealed the name and adventures of one of the writer's contemporaries, but we have no key to the interpretation. Scolari rather quaintly takes Galatea as Italy, and suggests that Achemenides is Dante himself: "Nella condizione e nell' orrore di Achemenide, l' Allighieri ha rappresentato sè ed il suo proprio; e come in Polifeme fece il ritratto parlante del re Roberto; così nelle stragi dei Ciclopi rappresentò quelle che in tutte parti d' Italia facevano i soldati di lui, e delle quali era testimonio egli stesso."

85. Here we revert to the geographical Bologna again, seeing that the Reno and the Savena obviously do not embrace Mount Etna! This confusion and uncertainty in the use of the cipher, as also the unnecessary mystification of lines 67-75, appear to us decidedly un-Dantesque, and increase the difficulty of accepting the poem in its entirety as Dante's.

86, 87. *In alta virgine.* We take the *alta virgo* as merely a circumlocution for the laurel. It would appear from Villani and Boccaccio that Dante was actually crowned poet-laureate in his funeral, presumably by Guido da Polenta. If the poem, as we think not improbable, was finished by another hand after Dante's death, these lines may contain an allusion to this ceremony.

89. *Magni* can go either with *gregis* or with *alumni*. The scholiast takes it with *gregis* and regards it as equivalent to *human*. Orelli takes the same view and understands "*concepit verba alumni esse verba gregis magni*," that is to say, that Italy as a whole would endorse the advice of Fiducio that Dante should stay quietly at Ravenna and finish his poem, rather than allow himself to be mixed up in political affairs at Bologna. But such contortions of construction as Orelli here and elsewhere supposes are not in keeping with the style of these poems. They are intricate enough in many respects, but they do not deal in syntactical conundrums. We incline to take *magni* with *alumni* and to take *gregis* as dependent on the latter.

91. Cf. line 5, *note*.

95-97. Though these lines do not prove that the poem is not Dante's (a question which in the last resort must be decided on internal evidence), they certainly tend to confirm the suspicion that it was not entirely written by him. As already said, they appear to state that the poem is the account of a conversation between

Dante and his friends, overheard by Iolas (Guido da Polenta) and reported by him to the anonymous writer. It is practically an answer dictated by Guido to Del Virgilio's suggestion in the former poem that he (Guido) was preventing his illustrious guest from coming to Bologna. See *Carmen v.*, lines 7, 8, *note*. But the scholiast twice states that the "we" of line 97 is Dante himself; and in his gloss on vi. 9, he distinctly says that Dante *twice* wrote back to Del Virgilio in bucolic song. Guido Novello went himself to Bologna as Captain in the spring of 1322; was it, perhaps, then that the Eclogue was forwarded at last to Del Virgilio by Dante's son? There is no foundation for Belloni's statement (*op. cit.* p. 372) that these verses are variously placed in the several MSS.

On the last word *poimus* Orelli notes "*verbum est hybridum pro ποιῶμεν*," and Fraticelli very appositely refers to Boccaccio, *Commento, Lesione Terza*, "Estimarono molti . . . questo nome poeta venire da un verbo detto *poio pois*."

CARMEN V.

Line 2. Cf. *Epist.* ix. 3.

3. Cf. *Carmen* vi. 228.

4. In using the expression *utrumque polum* Del Virgilio probably had not so much the northern and southern hemispheres in view as heaven and hell. The south pole, as lying far beneath our feet, was associated with hell by Virgil, *Georg.* i. 242, 243:

"Hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum
sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi";

and the idea constantly recurs in Seneca, whose influence on the language of the Latinists of this period it would be difficult to exaggerate. Cf. *Herc. Fur.* 604-608:

"In pœnas meas

atque in labores non satis terræ patent:

Junonis odio vidi inaccessa omnibus,

ignota Phœbo; quæque *deterior polus*

obscura diro spatia concessit Jovi";

where *dirus Jupiter* is a paraphrase for Pluto.

And *Ib.* 1103-1105:

"Gemitus vastos

audiat æther, audiat atrî

regina *poli*,"

and many other passages.

5, 6. Obvious as the meaning of this passage is, Scolari (*I versi Latini di Giovanni del Virgilio e di Dante Alighieri*, ed. Filippo

Scolari, Venezia, 1845, pp. 106, 183) is the only editor we have found who understands it. Dionisi, Pelli, Orelli, Ricci, etc., etc., miss the reference to the *De Monarchia*, and have recourse to violent emendations, such as *defunctis gelidis regnumque gemellum*, or *graduum regnumque gemellum*. Macri-Leone, while declining to tamper with the text, regards the phrase as obscure. (*Vita di Dante*, Firenze, 1888, pp. 33, 34.)

The meaning of the lines, however, is quite clear and unmistakable. Dante had 'assigned their places to the defunct,' *distribuit loca defunctis*, 'in Italian style,' *laicis modis*; but he had also 'assigned their respective jurisdictions' to the spiritual sword and the temporal sword, *distribuit regnum gladiis gemellis*, 'in Latin style,' *rhetoricis modis*.

No doubt it is the irregularity of the position of the *que* that has thrown out the editors; but that presents no real difficulty. The careful reader of Del Virgilio's poems will notice his extreme irregularity in the use of *que*:

iii. 23. Pastoresque boves et oves hirtæque capellæ.

68. Parrasii juvenesque senes.

74. Glandiferæque etiam quercusque arbusta dedere.

vi. 39. Cantica digna deis Fauno Satirisque Priapo.

278. Vires animosque loquelam.

And in his treatise on Ovid (cf. Appendix L) we have such phrases as "Communis ratio vult hominique deo," or "Sunt Forco gentitæ Steno Eurialeque Medusa"; and exactly parallel with the passage under discussion: "Excipit hos fatuus contra doctumque tumescit," meaning: 'The fool picks them (the pipes) up and puffs himself out against the scholar.'

7, 8. These lines seem to confirm the scholiast's note on vi. 228 (see pp. 127-129), which says that the second Eclogue was not written till a year after Dante had received Del Virgilio's second poem, and was sent to Del Virgilio after Dante's death by his son.

It would appear that when Del Virgilio wrote this epitaph he regarded the correspondence as incomplete, most probably because he had not received the poem *Velleribus Colchis*, but possibly because he had received it and did not regard it as coming from Dante's own hand. Unless we suppose a reference to future eclogues which Del Virgilio hoped that Dante might write, to make up, perhaps, the Virgilian number of ten, *resonabat* seems to imply that Dante had an eclogue actually on hand at the time of his death. 'The Eclogue was the last form under which Dante's muse uttered herself, and this pleasant task was broken short by envious fate.'

CARMEN VI.

Novati has very justly observed that this poem is "the finest and the most efficacious document of the intimate bond that in the early years of the fourteenth century united all the poets and writers of the peninsula, the greatest and the humblest alike" (*Giorn. storico della Lett. Italiana*, vi., p. 200).

Line 1. The *modo* must not be taken to imply that Mussato's coronation was recent. As we have seen, it took place at any rate not later than December, 1315 (see pp. 43, 44), and this poem was written in 1325 (see p. 137).

In the meantime Mussato, as well as Del Virgilio, had been interested in the secession of the students and professors from Bologna in 1321 (see pp. 131-133). The Paduana, who were re-organizing their own University at the time, made an unsuccessful attempt to induce the seceders to come to them instead of going to Siena, and sent three representatives to meet them at Imola. One of these three Paduan envoys was Mussato (see A. Favaro, *Nuovi documenti intorno all' emigrazione di professori e di scolari dallo studio di Bologna nel 1321*, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deput. di S. P. per le provincie di Romagna*, series iii., vol. 10, Bologna, 1892, pp. 312-323). From the present poem it is obvious that Mussato and Del Virgilio did not meet on this occasion, from which we infer that the latter did not play a prominent part in the secession.

2. The patriotic song was undoubtedly the *Ecerinis* (see pp. 38-41). From Mussato it is indeed a long step to Shelley, who, in 1818, sang of Ezzelino in the "vine-bearing Euganean." It is curious to notice that Robert Browning in the sixth book of *Sordello* appears to dwell upon the horrible death of Alberic with the same complacency which we have noted as the chief blemish in Mussato's tragedy.

3. The connection of the Timavus with Padua is more literary than geographical. The Timavus springs up in the village of San Giovanni, near the decayed Aquileia, and runs into the sea with a very short course. In classical times it had a celebrity for which later geographers find it difficult to account, and as Padua was regarded as the capital of the whole Venetian district (Venice herself being of course a comparatively modern city) the celebrated rivers of the whole region were regarded as Paduan. Hence the Timavus was "Antenorean,"¹ and remained poetically attached to Padua.

¹ Scaerdone cites Lucan's

"Euganeo, si vera fides memorantibus, augur
colle sedans, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit,
atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timavi."—*Pharsalia* vii. 192-4.

5. *Siculam*. The MSS., followed by the *Carmina Illustrum Postarum Italarum* and Bandini, read *similem*; for which we have ventured, though with much hesitation, to substitute *Siculam*. Syntactically *similem* could only refer to the *patrium carmen* of line 2. Now to describe this Eclogue as "similar" to Mussato's *Ecerinis* would be altogether grotesque; and, moreover, nothing could be further from the spirit of the poem than a claim on Del Virgilio's part to parity with Mussato of any kind. Whereas *Siculam* leads naturally up to the *namque* of line 6. Cf. Virgil's "*Sicalides Musæ*," *Ec.* iv. 1, and for the form and scansion Virgil's *Mille meæ Siculis errant in montibus agnæ*, *Ec.* ii. 21, and Dante's *Pastores alii mecum Sicula arva tementis*, iv. 26.

8-12. Cf. the scholia on this passage, and also lines 227-229 of this poem. See further *Carmen* iii. 11-16 and *note*.

9. Cf. line 228. We have already seen that this claim for Dante (that he was the first after Virgil to write Eclogues) must be subjected to some discount. (Cf. *Carmen* iii., lines 28, 29, *note*). In his famous letter to the Augustinian Frate Martino da Signa, Boccaccio ignores Dante and Del Virgilio alike, classing them apparently with the *ignobiles*, and represents Petrarch alone as the renovator of the pastoral Muse: "Theocritus Syracusanus Poeta, ut ab antiquis accepimus, primus fuit, qui Græco Carmine Buccolicum escogitavit stylum, verum nil sensit, præter quod cortex verborum demonstrat. Post hunc Latine scripsit Virgilius, sed sub cortice nonnullos abscondit sensus, esto non semper voluerit sub nominibus colloquentium aliquid sentiremus. Post hunc autem scripserunt et alij, sed ignobiles, de quibus nil curandum est, excepto inclyto Præceptore meo Francisco Petrarca qui stylum præter solitum paululum sublimavit et secundum Eclogarum suarum materias continue collocutorum nomina aliquid significantia posuit. Ex his ego Virgilium secutus sum quapropter non curavi in omnibus colloquentium nominibus sensum abscondere" (*Epistola explanatoris eglogarum in carmine suo buccolico*, in *Le Lettere edite e inedite di M. Giovanni Boccaccio*, edited by F. Corazzini, Florence, 1877, pp. 267, 268). Cf. Introduction, p. 143.

11. *Pineta*. The MSS. read *pinæa*, but the editor of the *Carmina* and Bandini are undoubtedly right in substituting *pineta*. Cf. *Carmen* iii., lines 11-15.

15. The verb *lviare*, though unknown to classical Latinity, is freely used by mediæval writers. See Maigne d' Arnis.

Actæa Virgine. None of the more celebrated maidens who were changed to trees (Daphne, the sisters of Phaethon, etc.) can lay

claim to Attic descent. Are we to understand Minerva by the Attic maid, and the olive by her leaf?

16. Cf. this description of the position of Cesena on the Savio with Dante's in *Inf.* xxvii. 52: "Quella a cui il Savio bagna il fianco."

17. Meliboeus, the scholiast tells us, represents one Duccio, a lawyer and (as we learn from his comment on line 79) the author of Italian verses. We may perhaps gather that he held an official position on Rinaldo's *familia* or staff, and was conspicuous for his loud-mouthed pertinacity in calling the attention of his chief to himself and his clients (l. 18), and that he knew (or at least boasted of knowing) Mussato (l. 113). The whole picture of the dissolute, vain, and pretentious butt of Del Virgilio's and Rinaldo's wit, though too vivid to be without truth, is clearly drawn in a spirit of comic exaggeration and banter.

20. The MSS. read *is*, which the editor of the *Carmina* and Bandini are no doubt right in understanding as the ablative plural of *hic*, *hæc*, *hoc*.

21. The MSS. read *buocis pretenderet*, which Bandini retains but which it is not easy to translate. The editor of the *Carmina* substituted *pretendens*, and we are inclined to follow him. *Pretenderet*, it is true, could hardly have sprung directly out of *pretendens*, but the latter might very well have been read as *pretenderis*, and this again might have been deliberately emended to *pretenderet*. This would imply that there were several intermediate steps between Boccaccio's transcript and the original.

An alternative emendation would be to read *baccis* for *buocis* and punctuate

uvis

turgidus et baccis, pretenderet orgia Bacchi.

In favour of this it may be urged that no account of a country feast is complete without the mention of olives. But this could only be translated by a *tour de force* as an elliptical expression: 'bloated with grapes and olives, as who should plead the bacchic orgies in excuse.' Instances of elliptical subjunctives occur in ii. 51, in lines 203, 222, and 232 of this poem, and in xi. 25; but none of them are so violent as this would be. The scholiast has a curious note on *orgia*, the source and meaning of which are alike obscure to us.

23, 24. Cf. line 221.

25-28. Mœris (*Del Virgilio*) came partly because it was always a pleasure to him to see Daphnis (*Rinaldo*), partly because the latter had on a previous occasion (*jam prius*) told him (*sibi*) that

he wished to have a closer knowledge of his poetry. There is nothing contrary to the usage of the poets of the period in this employment of *sibi*.

29, 30. Del Virgilio, with his amiable vanity and his diffidence in the presence of great men of affairs (cf. p. 127), takes pleasure in emphasizing the fact that he is in familiar intercourse with Rinaldo, and naturally takes a seat side by side with him when they meet. The construction is harsh.

39. On the construction, cf. *Carmen* v. 5, *note*.

43. A specific reference, probably, to Rinaldo's absence in the previous year at Padua. See pp. 54 and 137.

45. *Blasus* means *lying* in classical Latinity, but no doubt the scholiast knew the usage of his own day when he rendered it *stultus*.

50. *Affice* appears to be used absolutely for *distress*. The classical construction would require some such word as *dolore*.

52. Only a bombastic way of saying 'write down his song.' The papyrus came from Egypt and (the scholiast says) was first manufactured in Memphis.

54, *sqq.* The poem put into the mouth of Melibœus recalls throughout the love song of Polyphemus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (xiii. 789-869). But the scholiast informs us that lines 80, 81 are a close translation of some lines in a canzone composed by Duccio himself. Probably the parody extended to other portions of the poem, though it is impossible now to determine how far this was carried.

61. The *regum flores* are perhaps lilies. The scholiast understands the *divum herbas* to mean the *herba Sanctæ Mariæ*, which Mr. Daydon Jackson informs us is identified by Cesalpini (an Italian botanist of the sixteenth century) with the *Chrysanthemum Balsamita*, i.e. the *Tanacetum Balsamita* of Linnæus.

64. Virgil declares that Ocnus, the son of Manto (cf. Dante, *Inferno*, xx. 55-99) was the founder of Mantua (*Æneid*, i. 198-200), and he further mentions Bianor's tomb in *Eclogue* ix. 59, 60. On this latter passage Servius notes: "Hic est qui et dictus Ocnus est; de quo ait in decimo, *Fatidicæ Manthus, et Thusci filius Amnis*. Conditor Mantuæ dictus est Bianor, quasi animo et corpore fortissimus, ἀνὸ τῆς *blas* καὶ ἀνὸ τῆς."

68. *Urorum*. So *M*₁ and probably *M*₂ *prima manu*. *M*₂ *sec. man.* *Ursorum* (?) Bandini's *taurorum* is unwarranted and unnecessary. *Urus* is a well authenticated word, and was correctly understood by the scholiast. The *Carmina* read *nostrorum*.

71. *Visurata* is the reading of *M*₁, and so Bandini prints, with an appended 'sic.' *M*₂ reads *vis ultra*, evidently at random. The

word must mean 'parched' (cf. *magis uxor ego* in the next line) and must be a compound of *usta*. Our *bisusta* claims to be no more than a stop-gap reading. The *Carmina* read *nec ultra*.

72. We have the authority of the scholiast for identifying this Iolas with the younger Malatestino de' Malatesti, the grandson of Dante's one-eyed tyrant, and the son-in-law of Guido Novello da Polenta. See p. 80 of Prolegomena, pp. 136-138 of Introduction, and Genealogical Table in Appendix IV. In 1324 Malatestino had been Governor or Rector of Cesena during Rinaldo's absence at Padua (cf. line 43), and in 1326 his father Ferrantino succeeded Pandolfo as Lord of Rimini. In July, 1326, Ramberto Malatesta, a few days after he had aided Rinaldo dei Cinci in making himself master of Cesena, treacherously seized Ferrantino and Malatestino at a banquet which he gave in his own palace at Rimini, and occupied the city, in spite of an heroic attempt on the part of Malatestino's wife Polentessa—Guido Novello's worthy daughter—to raise the people on behalf of her husband. But within a day or two another scion of the house, Malatesta di Pandolfo, recaptured Rimini, released his uncle and cousin, and drove Ramberto into exile with his adherents. It was in this same month that Rinaldo himself fell into the hands of the Count Archbishop Aimerico, as we have seen in the Introduction. A few years later Ramberto attempted a reconciliation with his kinsmen; in January, 1330, he suddenly appeared as a suppliant before Malatestino when the latter was out hunting, fell upon his knees before him and implored pardon. Malatestino's sole answer was with a dagger thrust; he stabbed his suppliant kinsman to death with his own hands. In the following year Ferrantino and Malatestino were expelled from Rimini, with the aid of the Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto, by Malatesta di Pandolfo, hence known as "Guastafamiglia" Malatesta. In 1333, on the defeat of Bertrando at Ferrara, the family were reunited for a while and drove the *papalini* out of Rimini. But in 1335 a new rupture took place; Malatestino and others of the family plotted against the lives of Malatesta and his brother Galeotto, and, the plot having proved abortive, Malatestino himself was murdered in the dungeons of Fossombrone (cf. the *Annales Cesenates* and the *Cronaca Riminese* in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* xiv. and xv.). Like Dante before him, so Giovanni del Virgilio when exiled had fallen into *compagnia malvagia e scempia*, when forced to associate with such bucolic worthies as Rinaldo and Malatestino!

73. It is not easy to see the point, but apparently we are to understand the passage thus: Melibœus burns with jealousy lest Iolas be preferred to him; or with anxiety caused by the inherent

fickleness of Ægle's disposition, unless indeed her heart is, after all, firmly attached to "a certain Melibœus that we know of."

80, 81. See the lines from Duccio's Canzone given by the scholiast.

98. In Ovid's *Heroides* CEnone quotes a "carmen" which Paris had carved on the bark of a poplar tree, and in which he swore eternal fidelity to her, *Epist.* v. 21-32.

101. We have adopted the reading of *M*₂, which is supported by the scholiast's gloss. It is much more natural and forcible than the *refert* of *M*₁.

104-106. Cf. iii. 1, 2.

107, 108. It is difficult to say whether such a passage as this is merely part of the pastoral machinery or contains some specific reference, and in any case we are unable to recover the special meaning, if there is any. The scholiast gives us no help. Damon is said by the scholiast to be a certain Master Ambrosius of Cremona, of whom we have not been able to learn more. In 1318 and 1319 there were a number of exiles from Cremona who had taken refuge in Bologna.

110. Possibly *peregrinis birris* might be taken to mean no more than "travellers' cloaks," but probably a Paduan would strike a Bolognese as an outlander in costume.

111. *præsumptibus*, cf. line 222, *note*.

116-128. See pages 49, 52, 53. Padua was struggling for her existence against all the might of Can Grande and Uguccione, and Del Virgilio remembered that by origin he was himself a son of "the ancient dame of Phrygia." (Cf. *Carmen* iii. 88, 89, and *note*.)

120. *Crassari* or *Grassari* is a word used of the violence of highwaymen and also of incessant attacks by soldiers. See Du Cange.

122. It would simplify the passage to read *trepidis*, but we have not ventured to disturb the text. Maigne d' Arnis gives *trepidare* as meaning to tilt in a tournament; and he also gives *artare* as meaning *forcer*, *obliger*. And so we have translated it.

129, 130. Mussato's account of his embassy in the autumn of 1319 is contained in a portion of his *De Gestis Italicorum post Henricum* that has not yet been published, but his *Somnium* relates some of his experiences at Florence on his way to Siena on this same diplomatic mission. See pp. 52, 53, and *note*. Mussato's fellow-envoys were Ubertino da Carrara, who afterwards became the third tyrant of Padua, and Giovanni da Viganza, to whom several of his poems are addressed.

137. This appeal to Damon to confirm his statement leads us to infer that Master Ambrosius of Cremona had, like Del Virgilio, left Bologna for Cesena.

143-151. Cf. Introduction pp. 127, 133, 136.

148. The MSS. read *hæc* (=hæc), which will not scan. The editor of the *Carmina*, followed by Bandini, reads *et*, which is not satisfactory. *En* can claim to be no more than a provisional suggestion.

149. *Tunders*. So the MSS. and Bandini. The phrase is doubtless derived from Virgil's second Eclogue, 10, 11 :

"Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus æstu
allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes."

The *Carmina*, followed by Macri-Leone read *fundere*, which is unnecessary and destitute of authority. Most of Macri-Leone's false readings are derived from the *Carmina*.

150. Cf. iii. 90 sq.

156. *Sapis* must be the verb, not the Latin name for the Savio, the *a* of which is long. *Regebam*. The MSS. read *rigebam* and Bandini retains it. The *Carmina* read *rigabam*.

157. i.e. saved from the ruin of Troy. Cf. i. 28, *note*.

158. The Aponus is the name of the series of hot medicinal springs of great fame in literature. They are in the commune of Abano, at the south-eastern base of the Euganean Hills. The line therefore means 'the shepherds who wash their flocks when sick in the Aponus,' i.e. the Paduan shepherds. As we have seen, Rinaldo was Podestà of Padua from June to December, 1324. Chiaramonti writes, "Sub Prætura itaque Rainaldi Cincii magnam ab hostibus et non minorem ab amicis afflictionem passa est ea civitas."

160 sqq. *Coronam*. So the MSS. The editor of the *Carmina* and Bandini read *corona*, evidently taking *sertatum* with *Alphesibarum* and *corona* with *Peneia*. Bandini punctuates thus :

"Daph. Sapis, ut buceta rigebam ;
Et pecudes actas Phrygiis de pastibus olim,
Pastoresque ipsos Apono pecora agra lavantes
Hic novus inspexi, quem post satis Alphesibœum
Sertatum dederat Peneia nata corona.
Aurea polito" etc.

But it is not clear how he intends the passage to be construed. By taking *sertatum* as a supine, and by punctuating as in the text, we may get a tolerable construction and a very satisfactory connection out of the difficult passage, but it is very likely corrupt.

161. The scholiast (no doubt rightly) interprets *polito* as 'clad in vair.'

162. We take this line to mean that a heifer and a goat with flower-girt horns were carved upon the pipe, but *cui ibant* in that sense seems somewhat strained.

163. Mussato on this occasion wore the insignia of his dignity. Cf. line 135. We know, however, that the annual celebrations in his honour had been discontinued since 1317 (cf. p. 45).

166-176. This highly instructive passage is in form a reminiscence of the poems in which the Troubadours enumerated their likes or dislikes, or piled up blessings or curses, an instructive instance of which may be found in Bertram de Born's poem, beginning :

‘Eu m’ escondisc, dompna, que mal non mier ;’

but in substance it is a highly condensed and vigorous presentation of the dangers and vicissitudes of political life in Italy in the 14th century, in which the pastoral cipher is handled with extreme skill. The scholiast tells us that Rinaldo was at this time negotiating for his marriage, which had not yet taken place (the days of his matrimonial bliss, in this case, cannot have been many); and with his aid we can paraphrase the rest of the passage somewhat thus : ‘May you never be called as Podestà or Captain to a foreign city, and when you come home find you have lost influence and power in your own country. When in the course of their intestine feuds other cities have banished their citizens, may they seek refuge with you, and may your own citizens be preserved from the contamination of their factiousness while profiting by their alliance. May you never fall a prey to the greedy adventurers who fish in troubled waters, nor yet to the self-seeking flatterers who earn your confidence with their tongues in their cheeks, nor may you drop a ready prey into the hands of the feudal chief whom you have regarded as a nonentity ; nor, when providing by taxation for the necessary expenses of the State, may you fall a victim to the fury of the citizens who believe that you are extorting their coin for your private behoof.’ A most striking instance, and one doubtless fresh in Del Virgilio's memory, of “losing thine own whilst ruling others' pastures,” had been just seen in the fate of Guido Novello da Polenta (see pp. 113, 114). The classical instance of the spread of contagion from factious refugees is furnished by the breaking out of the Neri and Bianchi factions in Florence in 1300. The scholiast is probably right in taking the “pards of spotted skin” as the Catalans (see pp. 77, 78, 81), and the “sick lion's den” as a specific reference to the “tower of the Count of Romagna,” that is Aimerico's great fortress at Brettinoro, in which, as a matter of fact, Rinaldo was to meet his fate a few months

later (see pp. 138-139); and the reference to impatience of taxes as a possible source of trouble would come home with special force to Mussato (see p. 25). Note the Italicism of the use of *si* in this passage.

182. Since he left the Cyclop's den of Bologna to consort with such gentle shepherds as Rinaldo and Malatestino at Cesena, Del Virgilio has changed his pastoral name to Moeria. But he would have it remembered that he is not otherwise changed from that Mopsus with whom Tityrus-Dante had once contended on the flute of Benacus. Cf. lines 9 and 228.

185. *Immo*. Both MSS. and the *Carmina* read *amabo*, which is of course metrically impossible. Bandini reads *ambo*, which we cannot understand. *Immo* is purely conjectural.

187. The MSS. read *meminisse*. Bandini was certainly right in printing *meruisse*: *ru* and *m* might be barely distinguishable in a MS., and *meruisse* read as *memisse* might be mistaken for *meminisse* with the mark for contraction omitted, as often happened.

189. The syntax of this line is so abominable that one is inclined to suspect the text; but the phrase as it stands may perhaps be no more than a distorted intensification of Dante's

"Talia sub quercu Melibœus et ipse canebam" (ii. 67).

190. *Cytorus*. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 437.

200-202. It is interesting to compare these lines, written in 1325, with the prose proem to Mussato's *De Gestis Italicorum post Henricum*, bk. ix. (cf. p. 55), and the opening lines of bk. x.:

"Quæritis Heroes Paduæ per metra renarrem
Bella Dææ, grandæque actus, et digna relatu
Mæonio. Si non, petitis deponere frondem
Laurinam, immeriti seu jura remittere feudi.
Quid perplexus agam? scelus est, si jussa recusem
Debitor ingratus. Quod si temerarius ultra
Quam valeant humeri subeam perferre, verendum est
ne sub fasce cadam, casusque sit ipse pudori.
Este tamen Comites. Sceleri præferre pudorem
Maluerim quacumque Lyra, dum moenibus Urbis
Jamdudum infestos valeam consternere Gallos.

Evidently a man was not to be crowned in those days for nothing:

Gebt ihr euch einmal für Poeten
So commandirt die Poesie.

210. *Alcon*. The name is probably taken from Virgil, *Ec.* v. 11, where Servius notes: "he was a Cretan archer who shot a serpent

that had attacked his son, with such nicety that the arrow exhausted itself in piercing the serpent, and did not wound his son." Our scholiast (who is a better authority on contemporary history than on classical references) says that Alcon was an "upright Greek," and that the name is given to Rolando da Piazzola because he has (*habet*, in the present tense) the reputation of being a most upright man. This Rolando da Piazzola was a most intimate friend and companion of Mussato's. As we have seen, they were constantly associated together, though they had their occasional differences. They both went on embassy to Henry VII. in 1311 and 1312 (see pp. 9, 11-13). In the Paduan senate Rolando impetuously opposed adhesion to Henry when Mussato defended it (p. 13). Subsequently both Rolando and Mussato endeavoured to expose the malpractices of the Alticlini and Agolanti (p. 24), and shortly afterwards they were both of them taken prisoner by Can Grande at Vicenza (p. 33). Once again it was Rolando who proposed in the meeting of the guild of Judges that the Tribunes and Judges should escort Mussato in solemn procession to the Palace to receive his annual honours (see p. 44, *note*). The last mention we have found of him as playing an important part in Paduan history is in connection with the entry of Jacopo da Carrara into power in 1318. It was he who placed the banner of the Republic in the hands of the new prince of Padua (pp. 49, 50). If we could ascertain the date of his death we should have a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the *scholia*, since the phraseology of the note on this line implies that Rolando was still living when it was written. A poem addressed by Mussato to Rolando is still extant, referring in terms of humility and something like compunction to a difference that had risen between them on some unnamed subject when Rolando was the Judge of the Ancients (*Judex Antianorum*) and Mussato was Prior of the Tribunes (*Prior Gastaldionum*). The full title of this poem (*Epistola* iii., pp. 44-48 in the Venetian edition of Mussato's works) is "Ad Rolandum Judicem de Placiola amicum suum sibi conciliandum de contentione inter se habita de rebus publicis, altero existente Judice Antianorum, altero Priore Gastaldionum." It is usual to take this poem, which presents some difficulties and obscurities, as referring to the well-known dissension between Rolando and Mussato on the question of adhesion to Henry; but the text does not support this theory. The dispute to which it refers was one in which the popular assembly had vetoed or reversed a decree issued by the assembly which the magnates controlled; and success rested with Mussato, not as in the other case with Rolando. It appears, therefore, that on more than one critical occasion the two friends were found in opposite camps.

We learn from this line that Rolando took his place in the literary as well as in the political circle of Mussato's interests (cf. p. 37). Del Virgilio presumably made his acquaintance in 1319¹ when Rolando came to Bologna as one of the legal assessors to the Podestà.

211-216. For Lovato, see pp. 35-37 and Appendix II. A few lines of Lovato's poem on Iseult have been preserved and are printed in our Appendix. Iseult and King Mark, Lancelot, Lamoracke (whom the Italians usually called Amoratto), and Palamede or Palomides, are too familiar to English readers for any commentary to be needed on this passage. It will be observed that, if Del Virgilio rightly describes the poem, Lovato, like our own Thomas Malory, must have interwoven the legends of Tristram and Iseult with those of Lancelot. From the end of the twelfth century onwards, the Arthurian legends—*Arturi regis ambages pulcherrimæ*, as Dante (*De V.E.* i. 10) calls them—enjoyed a vast popularity in Italy, especially those connected with the loves of Tristram and Iseult. See L. Sudre, *Les allusions à la légende de Tristan in Romania*, xv. (Paris, 1886), and especially the important essay by Arturo Graf, *Appunti per la storia del Ciclo Brettonne in Italia*, in the *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v. (Turin, 1885).

216. *Nescio quis Palamedes*. Graf (*op cit.*, p. 116) observes "in quel nescio si fiuta un certo disprezzo di latinista per quelle favole romanze." We cannot agree with him. Del Virgilio knew his Virgil, and by *nescio quis Palamedes* he merely meant 'he who hight Palamedes'; or, if there is any further implication, it points rather to a vague attraction and wonder.

"Tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces
aut quater ingeminant, et sæpe cubilibus altis
nescio qua præter solitum dulcedine læti,
inter se in foliis strepitant." *Georg.* i. 410-413.

It is much the same note as is struck by Mr. Austin Dobson:

"Him best in all the dim Arthuriad,
Of lovers of fair women, him I prize,—
The pagan Palomydes. Never glad
Was he with sweetness of his lady's eyes,
Nor joy he had.
But, unloved ever, still must love the same,
And riding ever through a lonely world,
Whene'er on adverse shield or crest he came,
Against the danger desperately hurled,
Crying her name."

¹ But possibly 1323, see Introduction p. 126.

English readers will chiefly know Palamede as the follower of the quest of the Questing Beast and as Tristram's rival for the favour of Iseult. He is the prototype of Spenser's Sir Calidore, the Knight of Courtesie. We see from the surviving fragment (Appendix II.) that Palamede played a prominent part in Lovato's poem.

222. Elliptical constructions with the subjunctive are frequent in Del Virgilio. Cf. note on line 21. It is possible, therefore, that the text is sound in spite of the harshness of the syntax.

Præst as a dissyllable with the diphthong shortened before the following vowel was probably justified to Del Virgilio by the "*Stipitibus duris agitur sudibus præstis*" of *Æneid*, vii. 524, which Servius declares to be "*tolerabile*" because *præstis* is "one part of speech," i.e. a single word.

223. Cf. i. 50.

228. *Carmine vulgatum*, 'far famed amongst the vulgar [i.e. those who cannot read Latin] for his song.' Cf. v. 3.

Laxabas. The MSS. read *laxabat*. The obvious emendation of *laxabas* had already suggested itself to Orelli, who quotes a few lines from this poem in his edition of the *Eclogues*. He takes the passage to mean 'thou didst solace or amuse Tityrus'; but perhaps it is better to understand 'thou didst induce Tityrus to unstring himself.' Compare iii. 32, note.

229. Compare line 10.

235-239. Cf. 219-223. It is typical of a character at once vain and diffident, to alternate extravagant self-depreciation uttered in *propria persona*, with extravagant laudations repeated in *persona aliena*. Del Virgilio is so carried away by his theme that he fails to note how (in l. 239) he is by implication putting himself upon a level with Mussato, which was certainly far from his intention.

246, 247. It is touching to find the same complaint on the lips of Del Virgilio and of Dante (*Epist. ad Can Grande*, § 32, line 600 sq.). Cf. Boccaccio, *Vita*, § 5.

255-260. For the historical circumstances here alluded to, see Introduction to this Poem, pp. 137-139. The scholiast's *Grellus* corresponds to the *Ghellus* of the printed *Annales Cæsenates* in Muratori, R. I. S. xiv., 1145, etc.

261. There is a comic pathos in this line. It is in perfect keeping with Del Virgilio's frank and generous character that his political sympathies should be entirely uninfluenced by his personal needs, and that he should wait impatiently for the downfall of the very man on whose influence he was dependent for the security of his poor salary (cf. line 147). But, nevertheless, he is impelled to

note, though it be only parenthetically, the failure of the said salary as a not unimportant consequence of the political revolution.

262. *Quam*. The MSS., followed by the Editors, read *quem*. But the sense and construction alike seem to demand *quam*.

The story of Pyreneus is told by Ovid (*Met.* v. 273-293). Cf. also iv. 65, 66, and the *scholium* on the passage.

275-280. See p. 139 of Introduction.

277. Cf. *Parad.* xxv. 7: "Con altra voce omai, con altro vello." Between 1321 and 1325, Del Virgilio can hardly have failed to have read the concluding cantos of the *Paradiso*. With what feelings must he have thought of his own rash invitation to Dante to come and take the laurel crown at his hands in Bologna!

CARMEN VII.

Line 1. We cannot satisfactorily construe *gremium salutis*.

3-7. Very possibly contain specific allusions, the clue to which is lost.

8. The swan as the symbol of poetry.

12. The last word of this line in the MSS. is *si* with a sign of contraction. Macri-Leone suggested *severi*, which is clearly wrong. Professor Rostagno was kind enough to give us his opinion that it might stand for *secundi*, which is no doubt right.

CARMEN VIII.

Lines 3, 4. *Fonte sonoras castalio* = the Muses.

5, 6. The parsing and the punctuation of these lines present difficulties. Our translation must be taken as tentative.

8, 9. If we were to take *danda* in close connection with *fecit*, Del Virgilio would seem to intimate that he thought the hand which was so grudging in producing its own treasures and so reckless in filching away those of the poets, was no other than that of his correspondent himself. But we shall probably be right in taking *fecit* as closing the construction, and in interpreting the following words as "which in due course would be given," not as "intended to be given."

13. Macri-Leone gives the line thus:

"Vobiscum [cum] ludat; ei festino, videtis."

How does he mean it to be construed? We give our own punctuation and rendering with no great confidence.

CARMEN IX.

- Line 1. *Del Virgilio* was his cognomen.
 2. *Johannes* is interpreted by Jerome as *grace of God*.
 3. *Vacchetta* = heifer.
 7. Seeds of the earth = the *Georgics*.
 8. Pastures = the *Eclogues*. *Arma virum* = the *Aeneid*.

CARMEN X.

Line 1. The MS. reads *spes* with a mark of contraction over the *es*. Macri-Leone read the *e* as an *i*, and suggested, though doubtfully, *spinas*. The proper expansion is undoubtedly *species*, in the sense of "drugs," exactly equivalent to our "specifics." Maigne d'Arnis gives as one of the meanings of *species*: "*Res ad medicinam spectantes, substances médicamenteuses.*" The play upon *ruminat*, "chews the cud," or "ponders over," is, of course, intentional.

4. We have made the best we could of *gaudeat unde canat*, but we are not satisfied that we have hit upon the real meaning. 'May he rejoice in that whereof he may sing.' Such a use of *unde* would come very naturally to one who habitually spoke Italian. But it is tempting to read *gaudeat unde canit*, "may he enjoy the thing about which he sings," i.e. "may he have his wish."

5. *Minciadis* = of the Mincio = Mantuan = Virgilian.

6. *Johannes*. The reference is to the recovery of his speech by Zaccharias (Luke, i. 63, 64).

9. The *Equa* of the MS. probably stands for *Ecqua* rather than *Aequa*.

10. *Nemus* = the *Eclogues*. *Arva* = the *Georgics*. *Frigen* = *Aeneas* = the *Aeneid*.

CARMEN XI.

Line 8. Note the Italian construction of *unde*. Cf. viii. 5, x. 4.

10. The construction is harsh. Possibly the line needs emendation.

14. *Solibus* should mean *years*, but must evidently be taken as *days*.

21. Note the incorrect form of *bovium*. Cf. *gregium* in iii. 21.

22. The parsing of *supremum* is not obvious, but the meaning is clear enough.

23. The MS. reads *omnium*, which is metrically and grammatically impossible.

25. See notes on *Carmen* vi. 21 and 222.

26. We take *assumite* of the MS. to stand for *absomite*. Del Virgilio would be familiar with the word from *Æneid*, ix. 494: "*me primam absomite ferro*." If it stood for *adsomite* we should require "*longas penas*."

34. An interesting indication of the frequency with which poison was concealed in rings.

1
EDITIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

I. EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND ESSAYS.

II. DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.



I.

THE bibliographies of the editions of the Eclogues given by Pasqualigo, Macri-Leone, and Kraus are all of them more or less inaccurate. The facts are as follows: In the *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, Vol. I., Florence, 1719, on pages 115-119, Dante's two Eclogues (our *Carmina* ii. and iv.) are given, this being the *editio princeps*. The poems are punctuated at random, and there are a few bad mistakes in the text. In Vol. XI. of the same collection, 1726, pages 362-372, Del Virgilio's second poem to Dante and his poem to Mussato (our *Carmina* iii. and vi.) are given. They were evidently printed from M_2 , not from M_1 , which will explain the absence of Del Virgilio's first poem to Dante which opened the correspondence. Here and there, however, M_1 appears to have been consulted. A portion of Del Virgilio's first poem to Dante (our *Carmen* i.) was published by Mehus in that treasure-house of learning, his introduction to *Ambrosii Traversarii Latinæ Epistolæ*, Florence, 1759, p. cccxx. The portion published extended to line 38, *tempora sertis*. It is far from faultless in point of accuracy. Bandini, in his *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecæ Mediceæ Laurentianæ*, 1775, Tom. II., col. 11-22, republished Del Virgilio's Eclogue to Mussato (*Carm.* vi.). His edition was a great improvement on that of the *Carmina*; but though he professes (with truth in the main) to edit the poem from the MS., he allows himself to be too much influenced by the text given in the *Carmina*. Together with the text, he printed the

greater part of the scholia, but not all. It is difficult to discover his principle of selection. He further made a transcript for Dionisi of all the four poems constituting the correspondence between Dante and Del Virgilio (*Carmina* i-iv.), from M_1 , with occasional notices of the corrections, and accompanied by the scholia. The transcript was fairly faithful; but Bandini had evidently taken little pains to distinguish between original readings and corrections, and did not even notice that a portion of the skin had been frayed away, and had carried a letter with it, in *Carm.* iii. 89. Dionisi published the text with notes and conjectural emendations of his own (sometimes distinctly unfortunate), in his *Serie di Aneddoti*, Num. IV., Verona, 1788, pp. 5-22. This was the first complete publication of Del Virgilio's first poem to Dante (*Carm.* i). This edition is extremely rare; there is no copy of it in the British Museum, and we have not been able to refer to it. In 1834 [5] Fraticelli reproduced Dionisi's text and notes complete, and added a translation by Francesco Personi. The text professed to be an exact reproduction of Dionisi's. But in 1841 Fraticelli re-issued his volume as Vol. VI. of Lombardi's complete edition of Dante; and here the text, still professing to be Dionisi's, differs in some respects from that of 1834, and in the subsequent editions still further additions and alterations occur; so that (a reference to Dionisi's own edition being, as already explained, impracticable) we have not always found it possible to say with certainty what Dionisi's reading really was. Between Fraticelli's first and second edition, the celebrated critic John Gaspar Orelli—who gave other instances of his zeal in the study of Dante—published the four poems of Giovanni Del Virgilio and Dante, in 1839, together with a fragment of a poem on Ronceval (*Carmen de bello in Runcivalle. Johannis de Virgilio et Dantis Alagerii eclogæ. Edidit I. G. Orellius, Turici, Ulrich, 1839, 4°, pp. 32*). Orelli's edition was accompanied by brief notes. He sometimes rightly rejects Dionisi's conjectures and returns to the MS. text, and in

various ways shows the critical acumen that we should naturally expect from him. On the whole, however, the edition is disappointing. It retains obvious errors, especially of punctuation, and is marred by a preference for renderings that involve syntactic contortions—a preference not altogether surprising in the editor of Tacitus, but out of place in the editor of the Eclogues. In spite of these faults, however, Orelli's edition made contributions of high value to the establishment of a sound text and interpretation, and it is much to be regretted that it was allowed to remain on a back-water unnoticed except by bibliographers, and wholly without influence on future editions. Our work was already far advanced towards completion when the British Museum Library acquired a copy of this edition; but we have been able to check our results throughout by a comparison with it, and have sometimes had the pleasure of confirming them by a reference to Orelli's anticipation of our own conclusions.

In 1845 Filippo Scolari published *I Versi Latini di Giovanni del Virgilio e di Dante Alighieri*, Venice, with a new translation into Italian. Besides the Eclogues, this edition contained, under the heading "Altri versi latini di Dante Alighieri e Giovanni del Virgilio," the supposed Latin opening of the *Commedia*, the epitaph "Jura Monarchiæ," etc., erroneously ascribed to Dante himself, and two versions of Del Virgilio's epitaph on Dante, with an appendix proving the evident and certain falsity of the supposed Dantesque epistle to Guido Novello, of March 30th, 1314. To this work Scolari published a further appendix (Venice, 1847), which we have been unable to consult. Fraticelli's text has been frequently reproduced, a fourth edition having been printed in 1887. In 1859 appeared *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte und poetischer Briefwechsel: Text, Uebersetzung und Erklärung* von Carl Kraft, Regensburg, which contains a Latin text of the Eclogues, not differing essentially from Fraticelli's, together with a translation into German hexameters and a commentary. Giuliani published the Eclogues in the second

volume of his *Opere Latine di Dante Alighieri*, 1882, with a prose translation of his own. None of these editions show any essential advance on Dionisi.

In 1887 Pasqualigo published his *Ecloghe di Giovanni del Virgilio e di Dante Alighieri, annotate da anonimo contemporaneo, recate a miglior lezione, nuovamente volgarizzate in versi sciolti e commentate da Francesco Pasqualigo, con illustrazioni di altri*, Lonigo. Text, translation, and commentary alike show a marked improvement on the previous editions. The greater part of the obvious errors in punctuation and interpretation are removed. Pasqualigo, however, fell into some minor errors of interpretation on his own account which his predecessors had escaped. The Oxford Dante (*Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri nuovamente rivedute nel testo da E. Moore*, Oxford, 1894, etc.), reproduced the Dionisi-Fraticelli text, ignoring Orelli and Pasqualigo alike.

Carmen v. has frequently been printed in the lives of Dante and elsewhere, often with violent emendations of line 5. *Carmina* vii.-x. were printed, with many mistakes and accidental omissions, by Macrì-Leone on pages 68-70 of his *La Bucolica Latina nella Letteratura Italiana del secolo XIV.*, Turin, 1889. So far as we know *Carmen* xi. has not previously been printed.

In addition to the translations of *Carmina* i.-iv., already mentioned in connection with the editions, there have appeared a German blank verse translation, and a commentary in *Dante's lyrische Gedichte* by Kannegiesser and Witte, Leipzig, 1842; an English translation in blank verse, with notes, by Plumptre in the second volume of his *Dante*, London, 1887, and the fourth volume of the cheap re-issue of the same work in 1899; and an Italian prose translation by Macrì-Leone, *Op. cit.* pages 73-88. The translations of Personi, Kannegiesser, Scolari, Krafft, and Pasqualigo, are reprinted by Del Balzo in Vol. I. of his *Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante*, Rome, 1889.¹

The recent work of A. Bonaventura, *La Poesia Neo-Latina*

¹ See further, p. 240, note.

in *Italia*, Città di Castello, 1900, includes a new translation of the four poems interchanged by Dante and Del Virgilio, but is not of the slightest value.

In 1848 Ponta contributed an essay, *Sulla corrispondenza poetica di Dante e di Giovanni Del Virgilio*, to the *Giornale Arcadico*, CXVI, Rome, 1848.¹ Amongst other good points it contains a particularly valuable note on *Carmen* ii. 49, which Fraticelli incorporated in his edition of 1856, and for which he has always received credit.

Carducci may be said to mark an epoch in the literature of this subject by his masterly study, *Della varia fortuna di Dante*. The first of the three "discorsi" collected together under the title, "Gli ultimi anni di Dante, gli amici e gli ammiratori di lui," etc., was originally published in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vol. III, October, 1866, and then reprinted and extended in his *Studi letterari*, Leghorn, 1874 (second edition, Leghorn, 1880; new edition, Bologna, 1893). Carducci was practically the first to lay stress upon the importance of this poetical correspondence between Dante and Del Virgilio, as throwing light upon the character of the divine poet and the story of his closing years.

Much light is thrown upon the circumstances under which the Eclogues were composed by C. Ricci in his *Ultimo rifugio di Dante Alighieri*, Milan, 1891. An important paper entitled *Sopra un passo dell' ecloga responsiva di Giovanni del Virgilio a Dante*, by Antonio Belloni, appeared in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, Turin, 1893, Vol. XXII., pp. 354-372. The passage in question is *Carmen* iii. 88-89; but the paper does not confine itself to that alone. Signor Belloni anticipates several of our conclusions, and we regret that we were not acquainted with his article until the present work was already in the press; the critical edition of the Eclogues which he therein states that he is projecting has not, so far as our knowledge extends, appeared.

¹ Kraus (*Dante*, etc., Berlin, 1897, page 282) is wrong in referring to this work as an edition of the Eclogues.

II.

I. M₁, MEDICÆO-LAURENTIAN, XXIX. 8, containing all our *Carmina*, except v.

This is the celebrated MS. which contains the Epistle to the Pistojan exile usually given in editions of Dante's letters as addressed by him to Cino; the Epistle "Amico Fiorentino" (cf. p. 70); the Epistle "Cardinalibus Italicis" (cf. p. 65) and the Epistle of Frate Ilario (see Appendix III); together with much other matter of direct or indirect interest to Dante students.

Hauvette¹ has shown to the general satisfaction of scholars that this MS. from folio 44 onwards is in Boccaccio's handwriting. The earlier portion contains certain physical treatises, to one of which reference has already been made (cf. pp. 107 *sq.*). The approximate date of Boccaccio's portion of the MS. is 1348.

The MS. has been manipulated continuously, up to a comparatively late date, especially the portion that contains our *Carmina* i.-iv. It contains corrections or alterations first from Boccaccio's own hand, second from the hand that inserted the *scholia* (see below), and third from a series of later hands. These alterations are of three kinds:

1. Those made by placing a dot beneath a letter to mark it for omission, and putting the letter to be read in its

¹ *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, par M. H. Hauvette, see p. 120.

place above it; or by writing a letter above the line and marking it for insertion; or by drawing a line through a letter to be cancelled. All these are undisguised alterations that preserve the full record of the original as well as the substituted reading.

2. Alterations insiduously introduced by supplying a stroke or modifying the form of a letter so as to make the corrected form pass for the original form unless carefully examined; or by adding a letter or a sign with an attempt to imitate the forms of the original.

3. Erasures, with the new word or form re-written over the erasure.

Nos. 2 and 3 are only resorted to by the later scribes, and are only concerned with questions of orthography or, in one or two cases, of grammar. That the erasures are later than the *scholia* is evident from a portion of the *scholium*, as well as of the text, being sometimes re-written over an erasure.

An *m* or *n* is very often indicated by a stroke above the line. These strokes frequently present an appearance differing from that of the writing on the line. This is probably sometimes due to the circumstance that the space on which the text is written was prepared to receive the ink, so that anything written above the line encountered a different surface and presents a different appearance from the text; but in addition to this Boccaccio seems not infrequently to have omitted the marks accidentally. When there is an obvious departure from Boccaccio's *contours* we have regarded the strokes as later additions. In other cases we have regarded them as original; and we have inclined to give Boccaccio the benefit of any doubt that may exist.

Similarly Boccaccio often omitted a final *s*, or marked it by a dot only. The later scribes wrote in the *s* in most cases. It is not always easy to say whether Boccaccio had indicated the *s* or not; but we think further examination will be more likely to increase than to diminish the number of instances in which he must be supposed to have omitted it.

Another habit of Boccaccio's was to write *x* for *s*; thus we have *senex* for *senes*, *vix* for *vis*, and *exto* for *esto*, iii. 68, iv. 80, vi. 57.

In a hand very nearly contemporary with that of the original writing a number of notes or *scholia* have been inserted on the margins or between the lines of the four poems constituting the correspondence between Dante and Del Virgilio, and of the poem addressed by the latter to Mussato (*Carmina* i.-iv., vi. of our edition). These scholia, Orelli describes as, *vel ex Joannis ipsius vel ejus familiarium ac discipulorum interpretationibus desumpta, sine quibus utique de multorum locorum vera et certa explicatione nunc desperandum esset*. Every test to which the more important of these notes can be submitted serves to confirm our reliance upon the honesty and competence of their author. Orelli's conjecture that the special information they contain is ultimately derived from Del Virgilio himself is in the highest degree probable. It appears not to have been unusual for the author of a poem containing difficulties of any kind, to put some friend in possession of the information necessary for writing elucidating notes. Guizardo's commentary on Mussato's *Ecerinis* (see pp. 45, 93) was written *sublimis auctoris venia*, and whatever we may think of the letter of the Frate Ilario (see Appendix III.), it shows that directions by an author to a commentator would be regarded as quite natural. But the notes cannot be from the hand of Del Virgilio himself, for Del Virgilio uses the word *Sarnus* (iii. 37)¹ which the scholiast challenges in his note on ii. 44; and he would never have suggested the scholiast's explanation of iii. 96. We shall see presently that we must distinguish between the author of the notes and the scribe. From the way in which Rolando da Piazzola is spoken of in the note on vi. 210 (cf. pp. 9 *sqq.* and 254) we should gather that the author wrote before Rolando's death, which would probably bring him quite near to the period in which the poems themselves were composed.

¹ Compare *Sarnius* in vi. 229.

But side by side with these valuable notes are others of such absolute fatuity that it is impossible to assign them to the same author. The earlier editors, therefore, were inclined to assume that the *scholia* came from two or more hands. The most striking piece of evidence for this diversity of origin is found in the two notes on *Sarnus* as the Latin name of the *Arno*. The note on ii. 44 runs: *Hic Sarnum pro Arno fluvio Tusciæ intelligit; seu quod ratione metri auctoritate poetica addiderit in principio illam s.; seu quod ita condam illum vocatum crediderit eo quod Virgilius dicit:*

Et qui rigat æquora Sarnus

quasi de isto Arno loquatur; quod quidem falsum est; loquitur enim Virgilius de Sarno fluvio Campaniæ prope Neapolim, ut satis loca ibidem a Virgilio nominata demonstrant. Whereas the note on *Sarni* in iii. 34 runs: *Idest Florentiæ, ratione cuiusdam fluvii Florentini sic nominati.*

There are other similar instances. The scholiast on ii. 4 can tell us that *Melibæus* was *quidam Ser Dinus Perini, Florentinus*, whereas in iii. 61 he is merely a *stultus doctor*. The scholium on iii. 63 tells us that *Nisa* represents *del Virgilio's wife*; that on iii. 8 that she was a *famula*, and in *Carmen vi.* (the *scholia* on which are in the same hand and of the same character as those on *Carmina i.-iv.*) the scholiast on line 72 knows that *Ægle* was a lady for whose affections *Duccio* and *Malatestino* were rivals; whereas the scholium on line 54 merely informs us that she was *quædam nympa vel puella*.

The expert evidence, however, is decisive as to the identity of the handwriting in all the *scholia*. The appearance of a change, which the amateur may be prone to detect after the first two lines of the third poem, is due, we are assured, to a difference in the surface of the skins or some such external cause. We are driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the scribe (or his direct precursor) drew upon sources of information of value far superior to anything that was within his own personal knowledge; that he copied

what he found in the MS. he had before him, faithfully, but unobservantly and unintelligently, and with the true pedant's delight in his own knowledge, such as it was, added as he went along notes of his own, not on points which a future reader was likely to misunderstand, but on points which he was delighted with himself for understanding, such as: that *Acis* is "a proper name" (iv. 79); that *age* is "an adverb of exhortation" (i. 26); that *Darus* was "a bad poet" (i. 9); that *Plato* was "a philosopher" (i. 11); or that the apples rivalled Nisa's cheeks, "because they were red" (iii. 63).

We are convinced that a careful and repeated study of the *scholia* will raise this conjecture to something like absolute certainty by evidence along various lines converging upon the same conclusion. Thus, some of the *scholia* imply a reading differing from that of M_1 . The scholiast on vi. 11 clearly read *pineta*, and the scholiast on vi. 101 read *refer*. It is difficult to account for this by any other supposition than that the *scholia* were copied in from another MS. which had correct readings where M_1 is wrong. This is confirmed by the considerable number of genuine corrections of the text introduced in the scholiast's hand. Direct evidence that the *scholia* are copied, and copied too by a comparatively ill-informed scribe, is furnished by the writing of the name *Ghellus* as *Grellus* in the scholium on vi. 259. We are inclined to add, though with some hesitation, the curious *scholium* on vi. 21. We cannot indeed explain this note, but we strongly suspect that *corpulenta*, the undoubted reading of the MS., is a mistake for *corpuscula*, and in that case it affords yet another piece of evidence that the notes in M_1 are not in all cases due to the scribe in whose handwriting we have them.

We have evidence, then, that some of the *scholia* at least are taken from another MS., and this at once destroys the evidential value of the identity of handwriting as establishing an identity of authorship. And, again, the contradictory or inconsistent elements sometimes occur within the compass

of a single note, or in the elucidation of a single phrase. In iv. 51 the note *servi Midae* shows that the writer had a perfect knowledge of the story, and assumed that his reader knew it too; but the words *ostendit Mopsus*, etc., assume on the reader's, and demonstrate on the writer's side a complete ignorance of it. Again, the note on iii. 96 runs: *Redarguit tacite Tityrum, quia pastorum interest lacte abundare*. The first three words of this note show an acute mind. Tityrus had promised to send Mopsus ten measures of milk. Mopsus now declares that he hesitates to send milk to Tityrus, because it might seem a piece of insolence "to send milk to a shepherd." But if this is so, the scholiast observes, Tityrus had already been guilty of insolence. The words of Mopsus, therefore, are "a silent rebuke." Now, though we do not ourselves believe that Mopsus meant any such thing, the comment is certainly a clever one. But the words which follow it, and which, according to our hypothesis, were added by the transcriber, only disguise and confuse the sense, which he evidently did not catch.

We may take it, then, that some of the *scholia* are very nearly contemporary, and are copied from another MS., and that others are due to the transcriber. The variants noted and the corrections introduced by the same hand that wrote the *scholia* are doubtless derived from the MS. from which all that is valuable in the *scholia* themselves was also taken.

II. M., MEDICÆO-LAURENTIAN, XXXIX. 26. Contains *Carmina* ii.-iv. and vi.

This MS. is assigned by Bandini to the beginning of the 15th century.

Our *Carmen* i. is not contained in this MS., doubtless because it is not technically an Eclogue, and this MS. is a collection of Eclogues only. The poems are grouped under their respective authors, and therefore Dante's two poems follow each other, without the interposition of Del Virgilio's answer to the first; and in like manner Del Virgilio's

Eclogue to Dante is followed not by Dante's reply, but by his own Eclogue to Mussato.

The MS. is caligraphic, and very beautifully written upon fine vellum. It has been freely corrected by changing of letters and by erasures; but the alterations are chiefly concerned with matters of spelling.

At the end of the MS. stands *Scriptis totum frater Jacobus de Vulterris*.

III. P, PALATINA, n. 3198—Philol. 210. Contains *Carmina* i-iv.

This MS., now in the Hofbibliothek of Vienna, is an Italian MS. of the middle of the 15th century or later. It is written in cursive character and on paper. It is now bound up in a volume of miscellaneous MSS.

IV. G, in the Biblioteca dei Gerolamini (belonging to the Church of San Filippo Neri), Naples. Pilone X., n. 16. Contains *Carmina* i-iv.

A collection of Eclogues, bearing the date 1489. In cursive hand. Written on paper. Very incorrect.

V. E, ESTENSAN. MSS., Lat. 676, a X. 2, 16. In Modena. Contains *Carmina* i-iv.

Middle of 15th century, or later. In cursive hand. On paper. Very incorrect.

The accompanying table (p. 283) presents a sufficient number of the characteristic readings of these MSS. to enable us to determine their relations to each other.

Inspection will bring out the following facts:

1. The MSS. divide themselves into two groups, the one consisting of M₁, M₂, and P, and the other of G and E. The readings that distinguish G and E from the other MSS. are some of them obvious blunders (5, 7, 10, 11, 12); others present genuine variants, and call for further examination (2, 6, 9?, 15, 17, 25, 28).

2. There appear to be cross relations between P and G and between P and E severally, but not between P and the archetype of G and E collectively. Common to P and G are 14,

18, and 23, to which should be added a peculiarity of punctuation in iii. 49, "simul. cantabimus." Common to P and E is 1.

3. G and E collectively are more closely related to the corrected M_1 (11, 16, 21) than to the uncorrected M_1 , except in the case of the late correction 13.

4. P adheres closely to the spelling of M_1 (3 and 5), where a comparison with M_2 is impossible. In two striking cases (16 and 21) it adheres to the uncorrected (and incorrect) readings of M_1 , while M_2 adopts the corrections; and in one remarkable instance (26) it carefully preserves an obvious blunder of M_1 which M_2 corrected. Both P and M_2 agree with the corrected (but incorrect) M_1 in 13.

5. M_2 offers no reading of interest except in 14, where it contains a variant noted by the scholiast on M_1 . The reading in 24 is simply a conjectural attempt to supply an original omission.

6. The variants in No. 22 (iii. 89) are so remarkable as to deserve special investigation.

We must now attempt to ascertain the relations between the MSS. which are thus indicated. It will be convenient to open our inquiry by examining the relations between M, and the archetype of G and E.¹ Boccaccio notes *terga* as a variant in i. 28, and this reading appears in G and E. Does this indicate the descent of G and E from a MS. belonging to the family from which Boccaccio took his variant? Or was the variant simply adopted by the archetype of G and E from the margin of M_1 ?

The numerous blunders common to G and E show that their archetype was a very inferior MS., and each of them has introduced blunders and made omissions on its own

¹ Neither of these MSS. is a direct copy from the other, for each contains lines which are omitted by the other. Thus G omits i. 11, i. 36, the end of ii. 9, and the beginning of ii. 10, ii. 66, the end of iii. 88 and the beginning of iii. 89, iii. 94, iv. 36, iv. 37, iv. 67, all of which appear in E; therefore E cannot be copied from G. In like manner E omits i. 26 which appears in G; therefore G cannot be copied from E.

account as well. But besides all this there are a good number of genuine variants. For instance, the reading *etneo* in iv. 54 (25) is sound. It was conjecturally restored by Dionisi and appears in the editions. This is evidence, so far as it goes, that the archetype of G and E was independent of M_1 . The reading *pulvereus* of iii. 36 (17), if not sound (which it might possibly be), is at least intelligent, and must be prior to the hand from which the archetype of G and E received its characteristic blunders. The *e monte* of ii. 22 (6), the *decurrunt* of iii. 24 (15), and the *ad* of iv. 93 (28) are more doubtful indications in the same direction; and if, as we suspect, some such reading as *proprio* lies behind the *primo* which we now read in ii. 43 (9), that would again furnish substantial evidence of independence.¹ These facts support the conclusion that G and E represent an independent tradition.

On the other side it may be urged that the reading *captas*, ii. 60 (11), would very naturally arise from a misunderstanding of the correction of M_1 . The usual way of substituting one letter for another is to place a dot under the letter to be removed, and to write the letter to be substituted above it. Now the *cartas* of M_1 in this passage has been corrected to *carptas* by the placing of a *p* above the line with a *caret* to indicate that it is to be added between the *r* and *t*, and it would be easy for a scribe to read the letter not as a supplement, but as a substitute. Again the mistake *levabit* (19) common to M_1 and E tells slightly in favour of a connection between M_1 and the archetype of G, E. Further, if the latter is really independent we might reasonably expect that even corrupt representatives of the tradition would give us some valuable readings which are not to be found in the notes or corrections of M_1 ; whereas—except for the sufficiently obvious *etneo*, iv. 54 (25)—

¹ Since these words were written we have noted that *proprios* and *patrios* actually occur as variants in a very similar connection in the MSS. of Mussato's *Ecerinis*, line 531 (see Padrin, p. 59). It is hardly necessary to point out that this confers a high degree of probability upon our conjecture.

no such readings are to be found in G or E. But these indications are too slight and ambiguous to outweigh the cumulative evidence we have already gathered.

But before we can regard our conclusions as definitive we must examine the perplexing and interesting variants in iii. 89 (22). All the editions read *potator*; but this reading is purely fictitious.¹ *M*₁ now has *po. tabor*. It is quite certain that the third letter from the end is *b* and not *t*. The error of the editions must be due to carelessness on the part of either Bandini or Dionisi. The page of the MS. on which this line occurs has a crease in it, and has become frayed so that the part of the page containing lines 58-60 on one side, and 87-89 on the other, has been worked into holes. The letter between the *o* and the *t* in line 89, the first *n* of *gingnit* (Boccaccio's usual orthography) in line 87, and on the opposite page the *b* of *libens* in line 58, and the space between *inter* and *piperino* on line 59 have all been carried away; and the *o* of *Musone* in line 88 is very nearly gone. There is abundant evidence, therefore, that the considerable hole in the skin at this place is not a defect which was there before it was written upon, but an injury which it has since sustained.² We may regard it as certain, therefore, that the original reading of line 89 was *portabor*, and that the *r* has been frayed away.

¹ See p. 299. Cf. pp. 235 *seqq.*

² Moreover the appearance of a defect differs characteristically from that of an injury, and we think no one who examines this MS. can doubt that he has before him in this case an injury and not a defect. It is true (and *pour l'acquit de notre conscience* we would lay stress on the fact, that no part of the evidence may be suppressed) that line 59 is complete (as though it had been written subsequent to the injury) although there is a considerable space worn away. But there are faint indications of something (perhaps beginning with a *p*) having once been written here; and the subsequent insertion and cancelling of *fulg* in the same line shows that Boccaccio got into confusion at this point. The probability is, therefore, that some cancelled letters originally stood here, and it seems not unlikely that an attempt to erase them by one of the later manipulators of the MS. (not Boccaccio, who cancels but does not erase) may have aggravated the injury caused by the fraying of the pleat.

Now, when we see that M_2 , P, and G, all of them read *potabor* in this passage, our first idea naturally is that they were all of them copied from M_1 at a period subsequent to the destruction of the τ . To the consideration of M_2 and P we shall return presently. But our perplexity is great on finding that E has the correct reading *portabor*. Were the evidence for the unity of origin of G and E less than overwhelming this would make us regard them as independent of each other; but the cumulative evidence of their common blunders, in addition to their common variants of a more serious character, absolutely precludes this hypothesis. We have to ask, therefore, whether we are to suppose that the prototype read *portabor* and G omitted the τ , or that the prototype read *potabor* and E inserted the τ . In the latter case we should have to accept the dependence of G and E upon M_1 in spite of the evidence we have collected to the contrary. But the probabilities are all in favour of the other alternative. G may have dropped the τ accidentally, or may have been influenced in this and other matters by P (see below); whereas it is impossible to believe that the tradition of E has passed through any hand intelligent enough to restore the τ conjecturally at any period after the introduction of the stock of errors common to G and E. The accidental insertion of τ is equally improbable. Our conclusion, then, is that G and E represent an independent tradition, although, unfortunately, they furnish no variant of any real value.¹

We turn next to M_2 . It is clearly a direct transcript from M_1 . The reading *potabor* (22) shows that it was copied after the injury to M_1 , and since the appearance

¹ It will be observed that in this conclusion we substantially agree with Macri-Leone (*op. cit.*, pp. 51 *seq.*), but we cannot accept the greater part of his arguments. Some of them are based on false transcripts of the MSS.; others on peculiarities which have been naturally explained in the course of our investigations; while one of the variants on which he relies, the *iusta* of G in i. 25 is not a *bona-fide* variant at all, but a simple blunder for *multa*; *m* being nearly indistinguishable from *iu*, and *ui* written as *u* with a hook to the *i* nearly indistinguishable from *ui*.

of that MS. shows that the *scholia* were written before the injury, it follows *a fortiori* that the scribe of M_2 had the *scholia* before him. As a rule, he accepts the corrections of the text made by the scholiast, and deliberately adopts the variant *pecudum*, noted by him in iii. 21 (14), probably to avoid the ungrammatical *gregium*. He introduces a certain number of errors, and makes a few obvious corrections, but yields no single reading that carries us outside M_1 as we now have it.

P presents greater difficulties. We have already pointed out conclusive evidence of direct dependence upon M_1 . The reading *potabor*, iii. 89 (22), indicates that it is a comparatively late transcript. The scribe, however, had a marked preference for the original readings and sometimes neglected the corrections, when they were obviously right; for instance in 16 and 21. This is not the usual practice of scribes, who seem, as a rule, to take for granted that the corrected readings are superior; but there is no insuperable difficulty in supposing a departure from the custom. Whereas the alternative hypothesis that P is derived from the uncorrected M_1 is absolutely excluded by the readings in 13 and 27. In these passages M_1 had received "insidious" corrections which have taken in wiser men than the scribe of P. Both the corrections are late, and their unconscious adoption by our scribe shows conclusively that he worked on the corrected MS. His adherence to the uncorrected forms must therefore have been deliberate. But, while rejecting the corrections of his precursors, he makes corrections of his own. Like many other scribes of the 15th century, he was something of a grammarian in the narrow sense of knowing what forms are grammatically correct.¹ Thus in 14 and 18 our scribe corrects the ungrammatical forms. It is probably on grammatical grounds that he accepts the correction in 11, and he even sees (like the

¹ Many of the scribes who neglect prosody, syntax, and sense are very great at correcting spelling, and eliminating ungrammatical forms.

scribe of *M*,) that *levabit* is wrong in 19, which is distinctly to his credit; but he makes a blunder of his own in 23, and does not detect the obvious error of his original in 26.

We have now to examine the very perplexing phenomena of sporadic relations between P and E on the one hand and P and G on the other. We must note, in the first place, that P has none of the readings common to G and E, and consequently we can assume no cross relations between P and the archetype of G and E. Again, the relation of P and E is confined to the one reading *narrantibus* in i. 25 (1), and this need not trouble us, for the mistake could very easily arise twice independently. *Narrantibus* is a comparatively rare form, *narrantibus* an extremely common one, and an inferior scribe would be very likely to write *narrantibus* for *narrantibus* without any special provocation, taking for granted that the stroke for *n* had been accidentally omitted, and paying no attention to the sense when he thought he had recognized the word. P, though a fairly careful, is by no means a faultless scribe, and E is a very careless one. Little importance therefore need be attached to a blunder common to them both.¹

The scribe of G is even worse than the scribe of E; but this will not help us to account for his having the correct grammatical forms in 14 and 18 where the archetype of G and E certainly had the grammatically incorrect forms which Del Virgilio doubtless wrote, but which P corrects. We might account for these phenomena by supposing independent grammatical correction on the part of both scribes, but that will not help us to explain the very remarkable reading common to P and G in iv. 4 (23). *Crurigerum* is a strange reading, and its occurrence in two independent MSS. seems highly improbable. If it stood alone one might, at a pinch, assign it to a sort of clerical stutter common to the two scribes; but when we take it in combination with the two

¹ The reading *desere* common to P and E in iv. 47 has small evidential value, since in E it is immediately followed by a hiatus.

corrections already noted, we can hardly be content with such a *tour de force*. There seems nothing for it, then, but to suppose that some precursor of G, after its tradition had separated off from the common stock of G and E, was somewhat capriciously "contaminated" by corrections from P. This would be the explanation of the loss of the *r* from *portabor* in iii. 89 (22), which we have already seen must be accounted for in some such manner; and still further evidence is afforded by the reading *lavabit* in (19). All the MSS. in their present state give evidence of the continuous process of correction and alteration to which they were submitted throughout the whole course of their history; and these corrections are often of a very random and inconsequential nature. The appearance of any principle of correction in one part of a MS. (unless it is merely orthographical) does not raise any presumption that it will be carried out systematically. It is true that the corrections to *potabor* and *crurigerum* are startlingly unintelligent, and that abundance of genuine corrections might have been obtained from the source whence these absurdities were drawn, but that is no proof whatever that our hypothesis is incorrect. It is quite in harmony with the ways of scribes. On the other hand we claim no high degree of certainty for our conjecture.

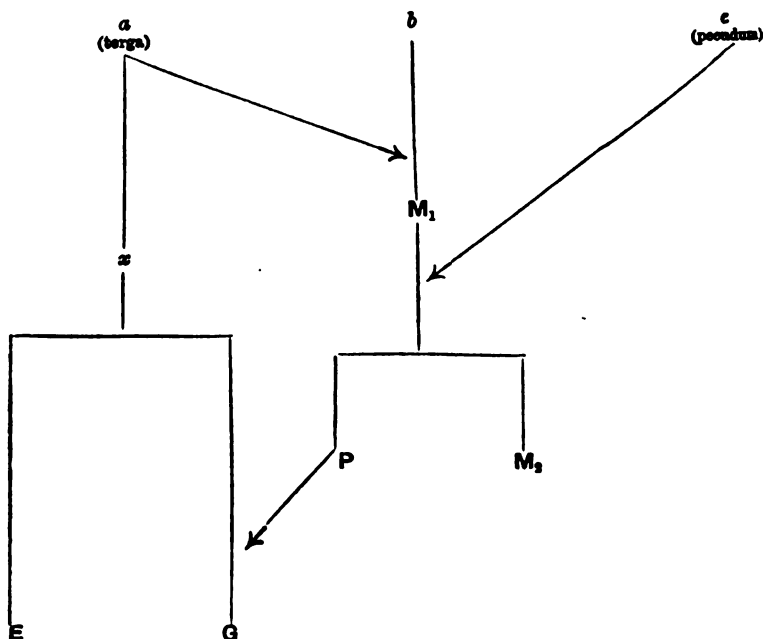
It only remains to examine the two variants supplied by scholiast, one is *pecudum* in iii. 21 (14); and the other is *audite* in iii. 22.¹

It is to be noted that neither of these variants appears in the G, E group. We may assume, therefore, that the MS. from which Boccaccio derived his variant *terga* in i. 28, and which belonged to the family from which G and E are derived, was not identical with the MS. from which the *scholia* were copied. This latter, then, belonged to a family of which we have now no direct representative.

Our conclusions may now be stated in positive form. In the time of Boccaccio, or immediately afterwards, there

¹ In *Carmen VI. pineta* is implied in line 11, and *refer* in line 101.

existed three traditions presenting more or less important variants. We may call them the Boccaccio tradition, *b*; the *terga* tradition, *a*; and the *pecudum* tradition, *c*. Boccaccio directly preserved *b*, and noted the only important variant from *a*, so that the late and degenerate representatives of this family which we possess add nothing to our substantive knowledge of the text. The scholiast noted variants and introduced corrections from *c* of which we have no representative. Thus it comes to pass that the whole critical material without exception is contained in the annotated M_1 . P is a transcript from M_1 , which, apart from errors, keeps very close to the tradition *b*. M_2 is a transcript from M_1 , representing to some extent the mingling of *b* and *c*, though keeping on the whole to *b*. E is a very degenerate representative of *a* without admixture from other streams. G is a still more degenerate representative of the same tradition contaminated from P . These relations may be presented in the following table:



TYPICAL VARIANTS FROM THE MSS.

M.	P.	G.	E.
	narrantibus	narratibus	narrantibus
	dente	terga	terga
	parthonopeas	parthenopeas	parthenopeas
	medianne	mediane	mediam ne
	nothis	tuis	tuis
monte	de monte	emonte	e monte
ndes	frondes	montes	montes
onem	insonem	insontem	insonnem
rio	patrio	primo (?)	primo (?)
ecum	Est mecum	est mihi	est mihi
ptas	carptas	captas	captas
is dum	nobis dum	dum nobis	dum nobis
am	Quam	Qua	Qua
udum	gregum	gregum	gregium
ursant	decursant	decurrunt	decurrunt
	Hic	Ha	Ah
vereo	pulvereo	pulvereus	pulvereus
ando	visendo	visendo	visando
abit	lavabit	lavabit	levabit
hi ipse	ipse mihi	ipse mihi	ipse mihi
at	laudat	ludat	ludat
abor	potabor	potabor	portabor
rigerum	crurigerum	crurigerum	currigerum
il jam carissime	quid me carissime	quid me carissime	quid me carissime
nea	etneo	etneo	etneo
nexus	connexus	connexus	connexus
eruvit	perferbuit	perferruit	perferbuit
t	Post	Ad	Ad

Though our conclusions are in some respects obviously open to question and reconsideration, it is a satisfaction to feel that the only really important matter is clear beyond all reasonable doubt—viz., that the whole critical material (except the obvious *etneo* in iv. 54) is before us in M_1 as it now stands. The other four MSS. may furnish evidence of more or less critical value, but they do not suggest a single reading of importance which is not either actually registered in M_1 or capable of being derived from it by the simplest and most obvious emendation. This is our justification for our *litteratim* reproduction of that MS. (so far as the correspondence of Del Virgilio and Dante is concerned) on pages 287-304. Future editors of Dante's complete works or of the Canzoniere will have the whole critical material before them in this volume, and we cannot but hope that the Dionisi-Fraticelli text will no longer be propagated without examination as the *lectiorvulgata*.

TEXTS AND SCHOLIA FROM THE MSS.

I. THE POETIC CORRESPONDENCE OF DEL VIRGILIO AND DANTE; together with the scholia on the same, reproduced *litteratim* from the Medicæo-Laurentian ms. xxix. 8.

II. MANUSCRIPT TITLES AND SCHOLIA NOT INCLUDED IN I.

N.B.—The text aims at giving the readings of the ms. as originally written by Boccaccio except where letters have disappeared or been erased. Expansions are indicated by italics.

The first set of notes gives the history of the ms. and of its alterations.

The second set of notes gives the interlinear marginal scholia. The words to which the scholia are attached are repeated, and the numbers of the lines are given, for convenience. Expansions are indicated by italics.

I.

Iohanes deuirgilio Danti allagerij.

Pyeridum uox alma nouis qui cantibus orbem
Mulces letifuum vitali tollere ramo
Dum cupis evolvens triplicis confinia sortis
Indita promeritis animarum sontibus orcum
Astripetis lethen epyphobia rengna beatis [5]
Tanta quid heu semper jactabis seria uulgo
Et nos pallentes nicil exte uate legemus
Ante quidem cythara pandum delphyna movebis

Commentary,
 p. 211.

The ms. has no enumeration of the lines. The *i* is never dotted. The punctuation is irregular, and has been so much tampered with that we have thought it best to omit it altogether.

The ink of the headings is paler than that of the text, but the hand is the same.

8. The *s* of *movebis* marked for omission and a *t* written above it, making *movebit*.

The scholia are written sometimes between the lines and sometimes on the margin. In the former case the word, or words, to which the scholium is attached are given in black type.

1. *alma*, *idest sancta*. *nouis*, *idest inauditis*. 2. *letifuum*, *idest corruptum seu mortiferum ut infernus*. 3. *triplicis confinia sortis*, *scilicet dampnatorum purgantium se et salvatorum*. 4. *Indita*, *scilicet confinia sontibus*, *idest peccatoribus*. *orcum*, *idest infernum*. 5. *Astripetis*, *idest purgantibus se*. *lethen*, *fluvius*. *epyphebia*, *idest supra phebum quod est celum empireum*. 6. *uulgo*, *idest vulgaribus hominibus et ydiotis et hec ideo dicit quia vulgariter scripsit*. 7. *nos*, *scilicet poetas*. *pallentes*, *prostudio*. *uate*, *scilicet dante*. 8. *pandum*, *idest recuruum*. On the margin: *Arionem quemdam volebant eius sotij qui secum erant in naui interficere qui impetravit ut haberet spatium pulsandi liram quidam delphin audiens ipsum navi se propinquavit ille proiecit se super eum et sic evasit auxilio delphini liram dulciter tangendo*.

Critical text,
p. 144.

D auus et ambigue sphynchos problemata solvet
T artareum preceps quam gens ydiota figuret [10]
E t secreta poli vix experata platoni
Q ue tamen intrinsece nunquam digesta coaxat
C omicomus nebulo qui flaccum pelleret orbe
N on loquor hijs ymmo studio callentibus inquis
C armine set layco clerus vulgaria tempnit [15]
E t si non varient cum sint ydiomata mille
P reterea nullus quos inter es agmine sextus
N ec quem cum sequeris celo sermone forensi
D escripsit quare censor liberrime uatum
F abor sifandi paulum concedis habenas [20]
N ec margaritas profligha prodigus apris
N ec preme castalias indingna veste sorore
A t precor ora cie que te distinguere possint
C armine uatesono sorti communis utrique
E t iam multa tuis lucem narratibus orant [25]

15. Originally *tempnit* (?) corrected to *tempnit*. 22. Corrected to *sorores*. Boccaccio often puts a . for a final *s* at the end of a line, but now and then (as here) he omits it. In every case the later scribe has written an *s* above the line. Where Boccaccio has a . or has otherwise indicated the *s* it is treated as original and no note is made of the later scribe's alteration. If Boccaccio did not indicate the *s* it is treated as an addition.

9. On the margin : Spinx fuit quoddam monstrum quod morabatur in quodam passu transeuntibus quibuscumque faciebat problema et qui non solvebat interficiebatur et si quis solvebat tunc illud moriebatur. Et dum edipus illac transiret fecit ei problema quoddam quod cum ille solvisset interfectum est ab eo. Dauus, quidam malus poeta. sphynchos, monstrum tebanum. 10. ydiota, non licetata. 11. experata, idest exspera tracta. platoni, philosopho. 12. coaxat, ut rane. 13. Comicomus, uir tediosus fuit ut oratius testatur in sermonibus. flaccum, idest oratum. 15. clerus, idest licetati. vulgaria, prout tua poemata. 16. mille, finitum pro infinito ponit. 17. nullus, poetarum. agmine sextus, dixit enim dantes se inter homerum uirgilium oratum ouidium et lucanum se [sic] fore sextum. 18. quem, scilicet statium. forensi, idest vulgari. 20. Faber, idest loquar. 22. indingna, scilicet vulgari. sorore[s], idest musas. 23. At, pro set. 24. utrique, scilicet italico et alijs nationibus.

D ic age quo petijt iouis armiger astra uolata
 D ic age quos flores que lilia fregit arator
 D ic frigios damas laceratos 'dente melosso 'aliter terga
 D ic ligurum montes et classes parthonopeas
 C armine quo possis alcide tangere gades [30]
 E t quo te refluus relegens mirabitur hystér
 E t pharos et quondam rengnum te noscet helysse
 S i te fama iuuat paruo te limite septum
 N on contentus eris nec uulgo iudice tolli
 E n ego iam primus si dingnum duxeris esse [35]
 C lericus aonidum vocalis uerna maronis
 P romere gingnasijs te delectabor ouatum
 I nclita penneis redolentem timpóra sertis
 U t prefectus equo sibi plaudit preco sonorus
 F esta trophea ducis populo pretendere leto [40]
 I am michi bellisonis horrent clangoribus aures
 Q uid pater appeninus hyat quid concitat equor
 T yrenum nereus quid mars infrendet utroque
 T ange chelim tantos hominum conpesce labores
 N i canis hec alios a^dte pendendo poeta [45]

26. *uolata* with a cancelled and u added. 37. Originally *ouatum* (?) corrected to *ouantum*. 38. The present *l* of *inclita* is a later insertion, written over an erasure. 45. the small *d* above the line was apparently inserted by Boccaccio himself.

26. age, aduerbium ortandi. iouis armiger, idest imperator enricus.
 27. age, aduerbium ortandi. flores, idest florentinos. lilia, idest de domo regis francie. arator, scilicet uguicio. 28. frigios, idest paduanos. melosso, canino. 29. ligurum, pedemontia. classes, armatas regum neapolitanorum et maxime cum rex robertus fuit apud ianuam in obsidione. 30-32. In the margin: hic tanguntur iijor mundi partes scilicet occidentes per columpnas herculis septemtrio per histrum qui fluuius est per faros egiptus per rengnum elisse meridiem. 32. pharos, idest egiptus. helysse, idest didonia. 34. tolli, eris contentus. In the margin: idest eleuari. 36. aonidum, idest musarum. uerna, idest seruus. maronis, idest uirgilij quia iohannes deuigilio dicebatur. 38. penneis, idest laureis. 39. On the margin: comparatio. 42. appeninus, mons. 43. nereus, deus maris. 44. chelim, citaram. conpesce labores, idest refrena dictis tuis hec que possent occurrere.

Critical text,
p. 148.

O mñibus ut solus dicas indicta manebunt
S i tamen eridani michi spem medianne dedisti
Q uod uisare nothis me dingnareris amicis
N ec piget enervae numeros legisse priorem
Q uos strepit arguto temerarius amser olo
R espondere velis aut solvere vota magister.

[5.]

48. The *h* of *nothis* is marked for omission.

47. *eridani*, *idest* *padi*. 48. *nothis*, *idest* *litteris*.

Dantes alagerij Iohani deuirgilio.

VIdimus innigris albo patiente lituris
 Pyerio demulsa sinu modulamina nobis
 F orte recensentes pastas demore capellas
 T unc ego subquercu meus *et* mellibeus eramus
 I lle quidem cupiebat enim consciscere cantum [5]
 T ytire quid mopsus quid uult edissere dixit
 R idebam mopse magit *et* magis ille premebat
 V ictus amore sui posito uix denique risu
 S ulte quid insanis inquam tua cura capelle
 T e potius poscunt *quamquam* mala cenula turbet [10]
 P ascua sunt ingnota tibi que menalus alto
 V ertice decliui celator solis in umbrat
 H erbarum vario florumque in picta colore
 C ircuit hec humilis *et* tectus fronde salingna
 P erpetuis undi asummo margine ripas [15]
 R orans alueolus qui quas mons desuper edit

Commentary,
p. 222.

3. the first *n* of *recensentes* is damaged. 13. The mark for the *ue* of *que* as it now stands is by a later hand. Boccaccio appears to have had several ways of writing *que* which a later scribe disliked and habitually altered, thereby often spoiling the symmetry of the ms. *in picta* corrected to *impicta*. 15. An *s* making *undis* is in the ms. but it does not appear to be original. 16. The *n* of *rorans* has the appearance of an addition.

1. albo, carta scilicet que est alba. lituris, idest licturis. 2. Pyerio, idest musico. modulamina, idest carmina. 3. recensentes, idest numerantes. capellas, idest scolares. 4. mellibeus, quidam ser dinus perini florentinus. 5. consciscere, idest simulscire. 6. Tytire, o dantes. mopsus, magister iohannes. edissere, idest dic et est modi imperativi edisero edisseris. 7. Ridebam, ego tytirus. premebat, idest instabat. 11. Pascua, idest stilus buccolicus. menalus, mons arcadie. 12. On margin before text: Vertex est capitis Vortex aquarum. After the text: bucolicum carmen quod hio pro menalo monte intelligitur dicitur celator solis idest ueritatis quia in lictera pastoralia narrat et in allegoria longe illis diuerse intelligit. 14. salingna, idest ex malice. 16. Rorans alueolus, stilus humilis. qui . . . edit, idest abucolico stilo altiore uirgilij.

Critical text,
p. 152.

S ponte uiam qua mitiserat se fecit *aquarum*
M opus in hijs dum lenta boues per *gramina* ludunt
C ontemplatur ouans hominum *superumque* labores
I nde per inflatos calamos interna recludit [20]
G audia sic ut dulce melos armenta sequantur
P lacatique ruant campis demonte leones
E t refluant unde frondes et menala nutent
T itire tunc si mopsus ait decantat inherbis
I ngnotis ingnota tamen sua carmina possum [25]
T e monstrante meis vagulis prodiscere capris
H ic ego quid poteram cum sic instaret anhelus
M ontibus aonijs mopsus melebee quot annis
D um satagunt alij *causarum* iura doceri
S e dedit et sacri nemoris per palluit umbra [30]
V atificis prolutus aquis et lacte canoro
V iscera plena ferens et plenus adusque palatum
M e uocat ad frondes uersa penneyde cretas
Q uid facies mellibeus ait tu tympora lauro
S emper in ornata per pascua pastor habebis [35]
O melibee decus uatum quoque nomen inauras
F luxit et insonem uix mopsum musa peregit

27. *anhelus* corrected to *an̄helus*, i.e. the *c* and the *h* marked for omission.

18. *lenta*, idest *flexilia*. 20. On the margin: *Testatur ysodorus triplicem esse diuisionem musice prima uocatur armoniaca de qua hic dicitur modulamina idest uarietatem uocalem et ista pertinet ad omnes uoce canentes alia est organica que ex flatu resonat tertia rithmica que pulsus digitorum numeros recipit ut in citara et ceteris*. 21. *melos*, indeclinabile est. *armenta*, idest *scolares*. 23. *menala*, *arcadie montes*. 28. *aonijs*, idest *musarum*. *quot*, idest *multis*. 29. *alij*, *scolares*. On the margin, after the text: *quia quanto tempore alij student inlegibus tanto isto mopsus poeticis facultatibus insudauit*. 30. *nemoris*, scilicet *parnasi*. *palluit* assidue studendo. 31. *Vatificis*, idest *poeticis*, and on the margin: *uates dicitur a ui mentis*. 33. On the margin: *idest dapne conuersa in laurum que dedicata est poetis*. 35. *ornata*, idest *nunquam coronaberis*. 36. *uatum*, idest *poetarum*. *quoque*, pro *et*. *nomen*, *poetarum*, and on the margin: *quia non habentur odie in pretio ut condam habebantur*. 37. *Fluxit*, idest *euanuit*. *insonem*, idest *sine fama*.

Critical text,
p. 156.

I p̄se ego respondi uersus iterumque relegi [55]
 M opse tuos tunc ille umeros contraxit et ergo
 Q uid faciemus ait mopsum reuocare uolentes
 E st mecum quam gnoscis ouis gratissima dixi
 U bera uixque ferre potest tam lactis habundans
 R upe sub ingenti cartas modo ruminat herbas [60]
 N ulli iuncta gregi nullis assuetaque caulis
 S ponte uenire solet nunquam ui poscere mulcram
 H anc ego prestolor manibus mulgere paratis
 H ac implebo decem missurus uascula mopso
 T u tamen interdum capros meditere petulcos [65]
 E t duris crustis discas infigere dentes
 T alia sub quercu melibeus et ipse canebar
 P arua tabernacula nobis dum farra coquebant.

60. A *p* inserted above the line between the *r* and *t* of *cartas*.

57. mopsum reuocare uolentes, *idest* si nihil respondemus nihil amplius injiciet nobis. 58. gratissima, buccolicum carmen. 61. On the margin: quia non inuenitur aliud opus buccolicum in lingua latina. 62. On the margin: quasi dicat se non sufferre laborem in carmine bucolico sed anatura habere. 64. Hac ex. 65. meditere, *idest* stude in hijs.

Iohanes Deuirgilio Danti Alagerij Egloga Responsiva.

FOrte sub irriguos colles ubi sarpina rheno
 Obuia fit uiridi niueos interlita crines
Nimpha procax fueram natiuo conditus antro
Frondentes ripas tondebant sponte iuueni
Mollia carpebant angne dumosa capelle [5]
Quid facerem nam solus eram puer incola silue
Irruerant alij causis adigentibus urbem
Nec tum nisa michi nec spondebat alexis
Suetus uterque comes calamos moderabar ydraules
Falce recuruella cunte solamina quando [10]
Litoris adriaci resonantem tytyron umbra
Qua demse longo pretextunt ordine pinus
Pascua porrecte celo genioque locali
Allida mirtetis et humi florentibus herbis
Quaque nec arentes aries fluuiialis arenas [15]

Commentary,
p. 229.

8. *re* inserted before *spondebat*. 10. A later hand has marked a *c* for insertion, making *cuncte*. 11. Boccaccio wrote *umbra*; a later hand (not that of the scholiast) added an *m*, which was subsequently marked for omission *m*, and finally struck through. 12. *Qua* has been altered by a later hand (not the scholiast's) to *quam*. 13. From the second stroke of the *n* in *genio* to the *o* of *locali* is re-written over an erasure.

1. irriguos, *idest* madidos. 2. interlita, *idest* intermaculata. 3. antro, *idest* bononie. 4. iuueni, *idest* scolares maiores. 5. angne, minores scolares. capelle, mediocres scolares. 6. eram, *idest* inter. 8. nisa, *idest* famula. alexis, famulus. 9. ydraules, *idest* aquatiles et dicitur ab ydros quod est aqua. 10. recuruella, *idest* moderatorio. 11. adriaci, *idest* adriani. tytyron, accusatiuus grecus. 12. pinus, scilicet rauenne. 13. genioque locali, *idest* naturaliter sine hominis labore uel opera. 14. Allida, spirantia. 15. Quaque, *idest* ea parte. aries fluuiialis, *idest* fluuius montonia.

Critical text,
p. 158.

E sse sinit molli dum equora uillo
 R etulit ipse michi flantis leue sibilus euri
 Q uo uocalis odor per menala celsa profusus
 B alsamat auditus et lac distillat in ora
 Q uale nec alongo meminerunt tempore mulsum [20]
 C ustodes gregium quamquam tamen archades omnes
 A rchades exultant audito carmine nymphe
 P astoresque boues et oues hyrtique capelle
 A rrectisque onagri decursant auribus ipsi
 I psi etiam fauni saliunt decolle licei [25]
 E t mecum sicutat oues et tityrus hyrcos
 A ut armenta trahit quia nam ciuile canebas
 U rbe sedens carmen quando hoc benacia quondam
 P astorale sonans detriuit fistula labrum
 A udiat insiluis et te cantare bubulcum [30]
 N ec mora depositis calamis maioribus inter
 A rripio tenues et labris flantibus hysco
 H ic diuine senex ha sic eris alter ab illo
 A lter es aut idem samio si credere uati
 S ic liceat mopeo sicut liceat melibeo [35]
 E heu puluereo quod stes in tegmine scabro
 E t merito indignant singultes pascua sarni
 R apta tuis gregibus ingrate dedecus urbi

16. *postulat* inserted by the scholiast between *dum* and *equora*. 21. *aliter pecudum* written on the margin before the line. 22. Over *audito* is written: *aliter te*. 33. *Hic* changed to *ha* by marking *ic* for omission and writing *a* above. 36. A small *h* inserted at the beginning of the line, making it read *he heu*.

17. *leue*, *idest* leuiter. 18. *Quo uocalis odor*, *idest* uocalis sonus scriptura. *menala*, montes arcadie pastorales. 21. Margin, *gregium*, *aliter* *pecudum*. 22. Margin, *audito*, *aliter* *te* [*i.e.* *audite*]. 25. *fauni*, dei siluarum. *licei*, montis arcadie. 28. On the margin: *Dicit hic mopeus quando hec audiui ego non feceram eglogam sed postquam per eglogas loquitur et ego*. 28. *benacia*, *idest* uirgiliana, and on the margin: *Benacus lacus est mantue*. 31. *calamis maioribus*, *idest* alto stilo. *inter*, *idest* interim. 32. *tenues*, bucolice describendo. *hysco*, *idest* dico ut sequitur. 34. *samio*, *idest* pictagore. 37. *singultes*, quia exul. *sarni*, *idest* florentie ratione cuiusdam fluuij florentini sic nominati. 38. *urbi*, *scilicet* florentie.

H umectare genas lacrimarum flumine mopeo
 P arce tuo nec te crucia crudelis et illum [40]
 C uius amor tantum tantum complectitur inquam
 I am te blande senex quanto circumligat ulmum
 P roceram uitis per centum uincula nexu
 O si quando sacros iterum flavescere canos
 F onte tuo uideas et abipsa phillide pexos [45]
 Q uam uisando tuas tegetes miraberis uuas
 A st inter medium pariat netedia tempus
 L etitie spectare potes quibus otior antris
 E t mecum pausare simul cantabimus ambo
 I pse leui calamo set tu grauitate magistrum [50]
 F irmus insinuans nequem sua deserat etas
 V t uenias locus ipse uocat fons umidus intus
 A ntra rigat que saxa tegunt uirgulta flabellant
 C irciter origanum redolet quoque causa soporis
 H erba papaueris est obliuia qualiter aiunt [55]
 G rata creans serpilli tibi substernet alexis
 Q uem corydon uocet ipse rogem tibi nisa leuabit
 I psa pedes actinta li ens cenamque parabit
 T estilis hec inter piperino fulg puluere fungos

51. i above the line, marked for insertion by the scholiast, making *Firmius*.
 57. The *e* of *leuabit* marked for omission and an *a* written above it, making
lauabit. 58. In this and the following lines the skin is frayed away in the
 middle. Boccaccio evidently wrote *libens*, but the *b* is quite gone and the *e*
 is damaged. 59. There is a gap in the skin between *inter* and *piperino*, on
 the left edge of which there is a faint trace of what may have been the
 beginning of a word [possibly a *p*] that was afterwards cancelled and
 then erased. Cf. p. 277.

39. Humectare, idest humidus facere. 40. crucia, pro crucieris. 43. Pro-
 ceram, idest altam. 46. Quam, pro quantum. tegetes, idest tiguris. 47.
 Ast, pro sed. inter medium, idest dum reuertaris florentie. 51. nequem,
 quia inuenis sum et tu senex. 52. fons umidus, idest studium indeficiens.
 53. Antra, idest scole. uirgulta, idest fabule poetice. 54. origanum,
 herba redolens multum pro qua intendit philosophiam. 55. Herba papaueris,
 idest delectatio supradictarum rerum. aiunt, scilicet medici uel poete.
 59. fungos, idest dicta antiquorum magistrorum.

Critical text,
p. 162.

C ondiet *et* permixta doment multa allia siquos [60]
 F orsitan imprudens melibeus legerit ortus
 V t commedas apium memerabunt mella susurri
 P oma leges niseque genas equantia mandes
 P luraque seruabis nimio defensa decore
 I amque super serpunt hedere radicibus antrum [65]
 S erta parata tibi nulla est cessura uoluptas
 H uc ades huc uenient qui te peruisere gliscent
 P arrasij iuvenesque senex *et* carmina leti
 Q ui nova mirari cupiantque antiqua doceri
 H ij tibi siluestres capreas hi tergora lincum [70]
 O rbiculata ferent tuus ut melebeus amabat
 H uc ades *et* nostros timeas ne tytire saltus
 N amque fidem celse concusso uertice pinus
 G landifereque etiam quercusque arbusta dedere
 N on hic insidie non hic iniuria quantas [75]
 E sse putas non ipse michi te fidis amanti
 S unt forsā mea rengna tibi dispecta setipsi
 D ij non erubuere cauis habitare sub antris
 T estis acchilleus chyron *et* pastor appollo
 M opse quid es demens quia non permictet yollas [80]
 C omis *et* urbanus dum sunt tua rustica dona

60. The *a* of *mixta* is damaged. 61. The second stroke of the *u* of *ortus* is marked for omission, making *ortis*. 70. *j* added to *hi*, making *hij*. 72. *que* written above the line after *ne* and marked for insertion.

61. *melibeus*, idest stultus doctor. 62. *susurri*, sententias fabularum poetarum. 63. *Poma*, idest documenta. *nise*, illius mulieria. *equantia*, quia rubea. 64. *Pluraque*, scilicet poma. *defensa decore*, quasi dicat ita uidebuntur tibi pulcre quod eas noles commedere. 65. *antrum*, idest iam implentur scole. 66. *Serta*, idest tui honores. *uoluptas*, idest nulla delectatio tibi deficiet. 68. *Parrasij*, montis arcadie. *iuvenes*, pastores. 73. *pinus*, idest maiores. 74. *quercus*, idest mediocres. *arbusta*, idest minores. *dedere*, idest maiores mediocres et minores te fiduciant. 79. *acchilleus*, eo quod magister fuit achillia. *pastor appollo*, dum paut oues ametri. 80. *Mopse*, loquitur sibi ipsi auctor. *yollas*, idest dominus guido nouellus depolenta tunc dominus rauenne. 81. *Comis*, idest placidus.

I isque tabernaclis non est modo tutius amtrum
 Q uis potius laudat set te quis mentis anhelum
 A rdor agit uel que pedibus noua nata cupido
 M iratur puerum uirgo puer ipse uolucrum [85]
 E t uolucris siluas et silue flammina uerna
 T itire te mopsus mirato gi gnit amorem
 M e contepne sitim frigio musone leuabo
 S cilicet hoc nescis fluuio po tabor auito
 Q uid tamen interea mugit mea bucula circum [90]
 Q uadrifluum ne grauat coxis umentibus uber
 S ic reor en propero situlas implere capaces
 L acte nouo quo dura queant mollescere crusta
 A dmultrale ueni si tot mandabimus illi
 V ascula quot nobis promisit titirus ipse [95]
 S et lac pastori fors est mandare superbum
 D um loquor en comites et sol demonte rotabat.

83. The *a* of *laudat* marked for omission. 87. Sign for *i* marked over *mirato*, making *miratio*. The *n* of *gingnit* has been frayed away. 88. the sign for *m* placed over *contepne*, making *contempne*. 89. The *r* of *portabor* has been frayed away. 94. Between the *r* of *multrale* and the *u* of *ueni* there has been an erasure, over which the *ale* has been written, not occupying all the space.

83. Quis, pro quibus. laudat, idest ludere possit. te, scilicet mopsam.
 85. On margin, assignat cupidinis causas. uolucrum, miratur. 86. uolucris, miratur. silue, mirantur. flammina, idest uenti. uerna, quia pullulant ueris adueniente temperie. 87. te, miratur. 88. musone, idest musato [the *o* damaged] poeta paduano. 89. auito, quia aus mopsi [the *s* of *ausus* and the first stroke of the *m* of *mopsi* damaged] fuit paduanus. 91. umentibus, idest lacte. 93. Lacte nouo, idest bucolico carmine. 96. superbum, redarguit tacite tytirim quia pastorum inter est lacte abundare. 97. en, pro ecce.

Egloga Dantis allagerij Iohanni deuirgilio
missa.

Critical text,
p. 166.

V Elleribus colchis prepes detectus eous
Alipedesque alii pulcrum titana ferebant
O rbita qua primum flecti deculmine cepit
C urrigerum cantum libratim quemque tenebat
R esque refulgentes solite superarier umbris [5]
V incebant umbras et fervere rura sinebant
T itirus hoc propter confugit et alphisibeus
A dsiluam pecudumque suiue misertus uterque
F raxineam siluam tilijs platanisque frequentem
E t dum siluestri pecudes mixteque capelle [10]
I nsidunt herbe dum naribus aera captant
T ytirus hic annosus enim defensus acerna
F rondi sopifero grauis incumbibat odori
N odosoque piri uulso estirpe bacillo
S tabat subnixus ut diceret alfesibeus [15]
Q uod mentes hominum fabatur ad astra ferantur
U nde fuere noue cum corpora nostra subirent
Q uod libeat niueis auibus resonare caistrum

4. The sign of *ue* in *que* has been written over an erasure, and there is a space left. Probably the original reading was *que* written in some other style. 7. *o* of *hoc* marked for omission and *e* written above it, making *hec*. 13. The *o* of *sopifero* seems to have been tampered with, also *or* is added, with sign for insertion, above the line, making *soporifero*. 14. A letter [*d*?] has been worn away before the *e* of *estirpe*.

1. Velleribus colchis, *idest* arietis. eous, equus solis. 2. Alipeden, equus solis. titana, sol. 15. alfesibeus, *idest* magister fiducius demilottis de certaldo medicus qui tunc morabatur rauenne. 18. niueis, *idest* cignia. caistrum, fluuium asie.

T emperie celi letis et ualle palustri
 Q uod pisces coeant pelagi pelagusque relinquunt [20]
 F lumina qua primum nereï confinia tangunt
 C aucason hyrcanie maculent quod sanguine tygres
 E t libies coluber quod squama uerrat arenas
 N on miror nam cuique placent conformia uite
 T ytire set mopso miror mirantur et omnes [25]
 P astores alij mecum sicula arua tenentes
 A rrida ciclopum placeant quod saxa sub ethna
 D ixerat et calidus et gutture tardus anhelò
 I am melibeus adest et uix en tytire dixit
 I nrisere senex iuuenilia guttura quantum [30]
 S ergestum scopulo uulsum risere sycani
 D um senior uiridi canum decespice crinem
 S ubstulit etpatulis efflanti naribus infit
 O nimium iuuenis que te noua causa coegit
 P ectoreos cursu rapido sic angere folles [35]
 I lle nichil contra set quam tunc ipse tenebat
 C anneâ cum tremulis coniuncta est fistula labris
 S ibilus hinc simplex auidas non uenit ad aures
 V erum ut arundinea puer his prouoce laborat
 M ira loquar set uera tamen spirauit arundo [40]
 F orte sub irriguos colles ubi sarpina rheno
 E t tria siflasset ultra spiramina flata

22. The *ie* of *hyrcanie* has nearly perished. 30. The *x* of *senex* marked for omission and *s* written above, making *senes*. 31. *e* written above the line and marked for insertion before *scopulo* by Boccaccio himself.

20. *relinquant*, cum in trant aquam dulcem. 21. *nereï*, dei marini. 27. *Arrida*, quia parui lucris. *ethna*, ethna mons sicilie pro bononia ponitur. 28. *Dixerat*, scilicet magister fiducius. 29. *melibeus*, idest ser dinus perini. 31. *sycani*, siciliani, and on the margin: *tangit hic quod legitur Enceide uirgiliij libro 5° desergesto*. 32. *senior*, scilicet titirus. *canum*, caput. 33. *Substulit*, eleuauit. *efflanti*, scilicet melibeo. *infat*, dixit. 38. *simplex*, sed multiplex. *aures*, nostras titiri et alpheisibei. 39. *Verum*, pro *set*. ut, idest, postquam. 41. On the margin: *principium egloge missi a magistro iohanne*. *sarpina*, fluuius. *rheno*, fluuius. 42. *spiramina*, idest carmina.

Critical text,
p. 168.

C entum carminibus tacitos mulcebat agrestes
T ytirus *et* secum conceperat alphisibeus
T ytiron etuoces compellant alphisibei [45]
S ic uenerande senex tu roscida rura pilori
D eserere auderes antrum ciclopis iturus
I lle quid hoc dubitas quid me carissime tentas
Q uid dubito quid tento refert tunc alphisibeus
T ibia non sentis quod sit uirtute canora [50]
N uminis *et* similis natis demurmure cannis
M urmure pandenti turpissima tempora regis
Q ui iussu bromij pactolida tinxit harenam
Q uod uocet ad litus ethnee pumice tectum
F ortunate senex falso ne crede fauori [55]
E t driadum miserere loci pecorumque tuorum
T e iuga te saltus nostri te flumina flebunt
A bsentem *et* nimphe mecum pejora timentes
E t cadet inuidia quam nunc habet ipse pachinus
N os quoque pastores te cognouisse pigebit [60]
F ortunate senex fontes et pabula nota
D esertare tuo uiuaci nomine noles
O plus quam media merito pars pectoris huius
A tq̃ue suum tetigit longeuus tytirus inquit

45. The *n* of *compellant* has been erased, but may still be traced. 46. The *da* of *roscida* damaged. 47-49. A note of interrogation is written after every verb (five in all) apparently by Boccaccio's hand. 48. the *o* of *hoc* marked for omission and an *e* written above it, making *hec*. 60. *que* as in line 4. 62. The *e* of *notes* marked for omission and an *i* written above it, making *notis*. 64. *que* as in line 4. The *d* of *inquit* marked for omission, and a *t* written after it for insertion, making *inquit*.

43. Centum, quia LXXXXVII. tantum sunt missa. 47. antrum, idest bononie. ciclopis, scilicet tyrampni. 48. Ille, scilicet tytirus. 51. demurmure, serui mide. cannis, ostendit mopsam non habere laborem in carminibus buccolicis condendis nisi sicut fistule pastorum cum pulsabatur dicebant rex mida habet aures asini. 52. turpissima, quia habebat aures asininas. regis, mide. 53. bromij, idest bacci. pactolida, patronomicum. tinxit, quia fecit eam auream. 56. loci, in quo scilicet nunc ea. 58. timentes, forte ne occidaris. 59. pachinus, idest mons sicilie.

- M opus amore pari mecum conuexus obillas [65] Commentary,
 Q ue male gliscentem timide fugere pyreneum p. 241.
 L itora dextra pado ratus a rubicone sinistra
 M ecolere emilida qua terminat adria terram
 L ictoris ethnei commendat pascua nobis
 N escius intenera quod nos duo degimus herba [70]
 T rinacride montis quod non fecundius alter
 M ontibus insiculis pecudes armenta^{que} paut
 S et *quamquam* uiridi sint pospenenda pelori
 E thnica saxa solo mopsum uisurus adirem
 H ic grege dimisso inte polipheme timerem [75]
 Q uis poliphemon ait non horreat alphisibeus
 A ssuetum rictus humano sanguine tingui
 T empora iam exillo quando galathea relict
 A cidis heu miseri discernere uiscera uidit
 V ix illa euasit an uix ualuisset amoris [80]
 E ffera dum rabies tanta perferuuit ira
 Q uid quod achimenides sotiorum cede cruentum
 T antum prospiciens animam uix claudere quiuuit
 H a mea uita precor numquam tam dira uoluptas
 T e premat ut rhenus et nayas illa recludat [85]
 H oc illustre capud cui iam frondator inalta

71. Boccaccio wrote a contracted *quod*. The contraction is marked for omission and an o written above the line, making *quo*. 74. The *um* of *mopsum* is written over an erasure. 81. *perferuuit* corrected to *perferbuit* so as to look as if it had been originally written so.

66. On the margin: *Pireneus dum uidisset musas pluuiali tempore et quidem nocturno dixit eis se uelle eas amabilius acceptare eidum intraxisset domum ipse eas in clusit uolens solus eas habere at ille euolauerut [sic] per tectum et ille uolens eas sequi proiecit se post eas et magno ictu mortuus est.* 67. *Litora*, designat locum in quo stat scilicet *rauennam. rubicone, fluuius.* 68. *emilida*, *romandiola. qua, in ea parte. adria, ciuitas inde adrianum mare.* 69. *ethnei*, *bononie.* 71. *Trinacride*, *sicilie.* 75. *polipheme*, *ciclope fuit dequo uirgilius En. iij^o circa finem.* 78. *galathea*, *nomen proprium.* 79. *Acidis*, *proprium nomen.* 82. *achimenides*, *nomen proprium.* 83. *claudere, idest ut non moreretur.* 85. *rhenus, fluuius. nayas, ciuitas bononie.* 86. *cui, scilicet capiti.*

Critical text,
p. 172.

V irgine perpetuas festinat cernere frondes
 T ityrus arridens et tota mente secundus
 V erba gregis mangni tacitus concepit alumni
 S et quia tam proni scindebant ethra iugales [90]
 U t rem quamque sua iam multum uinceret umbra
 V irgiferi siluis gelida cum ualle relictis
 P ost pecudes rediere suas hyrteque capelle
 I nde uelut reduces ad mollia prata preibant
 C allidus interea iuxta latitauit iollas [95]
 O mnia qui didicit qui retulit omnia nobis
 I lle quidem nobis et nos tibi mopse poymus

?
 ~. Expliciunt ~
 i

87. Virgine, idest danne lauro. frondes, ut te scilicet coronet in poetam. 89. gregis, scilicet humani [perhaps intended as a gloss on mangni, rather than on gregis]. 90. iugales, solis equi. 92. Virgiferi, scilicet titirus et alphasibeus qui quia pastores gerebant uirgas. 95. Callidus, idest astutus. interea, dum scilicet isti pastores inter se talia recitabant. iollas, dominus guido nouellus. 96. didicit, dicta scilicet superius. 97. Ille, scilicet yollas. nobis, danti. nos, dantes. tibi, magistro iohanni. poymus, idest fingimus uel monstramus.

II.

(I.) MEDICÆO-LAURENTIAN MS. XXIX. 8.

M.₁.—The titles of Carmina I.-IV., as given in M., together with the scholia, are reproduced on pp. 287-304.

To Carmen VI. the following heading and notes appear.

HEADING.—Egloga magistri Johannis de Virgilio de Cesena, missa domino Musatto de Padua poste, ad petitionem Rainaldi de Cinciia.

MARGIN.—Iste magister Johannes de Virgilio poeta fuit qui, morte preventus, coronari non potuit.

Dominus Musactus fuit poeta Paduanus et Padue fuit lauro coronatus.

Pieris corimbis dicitur eo quod condam poste soliti erant coronari edera lauro vel mirto. Hunc vero, scilicet dominum Musactum dicit edera coronatum. Et ponit fructum edere pro ipse edera.

1. Tu, scilicet musacte. redimite, idest ornate. corimbis, racemi sunt ederini. 2. vitifer, plenus vitibus. Egan, mons Paduanus. 3. Timavi, fluvii Paduani. 4. melos, idest dulcedo cantus. 5. inornate, scilicet mei Johannis qui nondum coronatus sum. 6. dee, idest muse. monte Pachino, in Sicilia est; and on the margin: Teocritus Syragusanus poeta primus sermone Greco descripsit bucolicum carmen, quem Virgilius ymitatus est sed Latine. Hic enim pro Pachino Siculo monte Teocritus accipiendus est. 7. Amarilli, idest Roma. Benacia, idest Virgiliana, a Benaco fluvio Mantuano. 8. fistula, scilicet Virgiliana; and on the margin: eo quod nullus Latinus poeta post Virgilium bucolico carmine usus est. 9. ea, scilicet fistula bucolica. Tyrtus, idest Dantes qui sibi bis bucolico rescripsit carmine. 10. Lydius, idest Tuscus. in Mitore, apud Ravennam. dormit, mortuus scilicet. 11. qua, scilicet parte. pinea, hoc dicit eo quod prope Ravennam sunt pinete. 12. quave, pro et. Aries, fluvius. exundat, quod apud Ravennam est. 13. ludunt, scilicet muse. recreant, muse. 15. On the margin: idest sole existente in Virgine. Erigones enim Atheniensis virgo verba est in signum celeste quod adhuc

Commentary,
p. 246.

Text, p. 172. Virgo vocatur. *Acthea*, idest Atheniensis. 16. qua, scilicet parte. *rigat obvia*, scilicet *Oesenam*. *Sapsis*, fluvius. 17. On the margin: Pro isto *Melebeo* sumendus est quidam iudex qui vocabatur dominus *Ducius* qui cum *Dampnide*, idest domino *Raynaldo* de *Cinciis*, tunc *Oesene* erat. non estate, sed naturali vitio. *petulous*, idest lascivus. 18. *Daphnide*, idest domino *Raynaldo*. 21. *turgidus*, quia grossus vel pinguis. *ergia*, idest corpulenta [leg. corpuscula?] dedicata ad sacrificandum. 22. *Venerem*, idest cantilenam de *Venere* tractantem dinumerabat digitis manus. 23. *bucera*, idest armenta bovina. 25. *Meris*, idest magister *Johannes* devirgilio. 26. *hedis*, idest scolaribus. 27. *Minciades*, idest *Virgilianis* a *Mencio* fluvio *Mantue*. *ciutas*, idest fistulas. Forte intelligit eglogas *Virgilii*. 28. *ille*, scilicet *Dampnia*. 30. *sedit*, scilicet *Dampnia*. *sedit*, scilicet *Meris*. 36. *decantat*, dum scilicet amat. 37. *Fana*, deum *Aroadie*. *tu*, scilicet *Dampnia*. *rides*, pro de [i.e. derides]. 38. *riderem*, pro de. 39. *Fauno*, deo. *Satiris*, diis montanis. 40. *age*, adverbium ortandi. *placent*, scilicet cantica tua. 41. *sese*, scilicet *Meris*, dum tu etiam sis. 42. *Hunc*, scilicet *Melibeum*. ego, scilicet [no note follows]. 43. *fudit*, scilicet cantando. 44. *Sat*, pro *satia*. *ista*, que scilicet cantabo. 45. *blesus*, idest stultus. Ad hoc, respondit. *ille*, scilicet *Meris*. 46. *magis*, quam antiqua sunt. *ingeniosior*, solito. 48. *facta*, scilicet completa. *mihi*, pro a me. *torno*, idest coepitura vel politura. 49. *gravet*, scilicet vobis. *canto*, pro cantabo. 50. *da*, idest dic. quod, scilicet completum. *nec*, pro non. *affice*, pro *afficias*. 52. *Memphiticia*, civitas in qua prius facte sunt carte. *biblia*, idest cartia. 53. On the margin: Videndum est que et quanta derisive *Dampnia* et *Meris* de isto iudice loquantur, et etiam sibi in sua cantilena faciant enarrare ridicula; quod quidem non sine ministerio factum est, nam secundum rei veritatem isti juriste ut plurimum extra suas leges sunt homines modice virtutis et magne presumptionis, et in moribus parum civiles; et ideo quia se omnia putant scire sic a sapientibus deridentur. *degutterat*, extra guttur mandat. *ille*, scilicet *Melibeus*. 54. *Egle*, quedam nympa vel puella. 57. *anime*, scilicet mee. 60. *septum*, idest claustrum. 61. *hic*, sunt in orto. *herbas*, puta herba *Sancte Marie*. 63. *neque pastores*, etc., idest non plus advocabat. 64. On the margin: *Bianor* rex *Mantuorum* dicitur fuisse et inde *Mantuani* *Bianorei* dicti. *Bianorei*, idest *Virgilii*. 65. pro te, ut scilicet tibi placeam. 68. *urorum*, idest bubalorum. *soccoa*, genus calciamenti sunt. 72. *carpat*, eripiat. *Iolas*, dominus *Malatestinus* qui hanc *Egiam* amabat. 73. *tam vagula*, ideo timeo ne alium ames quam me. 76. *melas*, nomen canis. 79. forte dicebat huius iudicis cantilena vulgaris tu mai dato dun seghetto alcore, tu mai missi ai piedi icetti deuinco, etc. [tu m'hai dato d'un seghetto al core; tu m'hai messi ai piedi icetti (=questi) di_vinco]. 80. *saligno*, idest de salice. 85. *latebris*, ascondendo te. *indis*, pro de. 89. *caplere*, pro ris. *petulca*, idest lasciva. 93. *credulus*, se placere. *humersque*, etc., vel quia pinguis vel quia sic ridendo faciebat. 94. *Crispatia*, quia forte senex. *risabat*, ridebat. *dentibus albis*, monstrabat dentes ridendo in quo risus ineptus accipiendus est. 95. *att*, derisive. 96. On

the margin: Paris Trojanus, phylactus Oenone, faciebat cantelenas et scribebat in corticibus arborum; et Apollo etiam cum privatus divinitate custodiebat armenta Ameti regis Teesalie. 97. Aonius, mons in quo colitur, et inde Aonius. 98. conderet, scilicet carmina. Alpheus, scilicet Musactus. 100. venit, scilicet Alfesibens. ultro, idest sponte. prememinisse, scilicet de Alfesibeo. 101. refert, dic. 102. Euganeos, idest Paduanos. 103. ininctus, multa(?) cintus(?), quia coronatus. 104. sub Emilio, etc., idest in contrata Romandiole seu Bononiensi, que secundum quosdam in Romandiola est. Sarpina, fluvius. Rheno, fluvius. 106. procar, lasciva. 107. Damone, magistro Ambrosio de Cremona. 109. pregrandia, etc., Palatia civitatis Bononie. 110. pastoria, idest pastoralia. 116. parenti, scilicet Padue; erat enim tunc dominus Canis dela Scala circa Paduam obsidens. 117. anns, scilicet Padua. Frigis, idest Troje. clavis sata regibus, scilicet ab Antenore. 118. canis, dominus Canis. dotalla, rura. 119. pecudes, idest homines villicos. ovilia, idest domos. 120. pastores, idest dominos vel magnates. trifauci, cum potentia trium civitatum, Verone Vicentie et Montisilici. 121. ipsam, scilicet Paduam. pannis, idest burgis. 122. vetulam, Paduam. artasset, obsidione. septis, idest muris. 123. improbus, scilicet dominus Canis. requiem, sonni. potumque, quia Paduani magni sunt potatores. vetabat, angustiendo eos tellis [= telis?]. 124. obrigens, idest minans crepitantibus dentibus. 125. Ejulat, plorat more puerorum. siods anxia labris, quia non habebat quod biberet. 126. erugosa, quia senex. 127. rauca, quia vetula. 128. ni, scilicet Paduani. septi, idest divisi. 129. Alfesibens, idest Musactus. horum, scilicet ambasiatorum. 130. arundine, idest oratorie. 131. conjuge, scilicet Eurudice. 132. Ariona, citarista. 135. mestum, propter Paduam obsessam. laurea, idest corona. vatem, poetam. 136. On the margin: Nnyades dee fontium Orcades dee montium Driades dee nemorum Nereides dee maris Napee dee florum Amadriades dee arborum Nimphe dee fluviorum. Pans, deum Arcadie. Driadas, deas nemorum. Napeas, deas florum. 137. Damon, scilicet magister Ambrosius. 138. cunctorum, ambasiatorum. 139. vultu, scilicet Musacti. 140. en, pro ecce. Dardanus, idest Paduanus. Alfesibens, idest Musactus. 141. indice, scilicet digito. 142. appellas, idest appellavisti. tunc, cum novisti. 143. tuguri, idest domus pastoralis. 144. quando, idest si. 145. ast, pro sed. ea, scilicet tecta; ponit partem domus pro tota domo. 146. Bononia, civitas. 147. hec, scilicet Cesena. 148. stuppea, de stuppa facta, quia pastor. perula, idest bursa. nodum, quasi dicat ni tu facias me meam pecuniam habere, bursa mea, eo quod vacua, non indigebit nodo. 149. tundereque, etc., idest quia verecundabar sibi tantum verbis honorem facere. 150. reboabat, idest reclamabat. 151. Preteri, scilicet nil ei dicens. faciens, idest dicens. sorti, idest fortune, quia pauper eram. 154. aura, idest fama, et sic Dampnis suum dictum corrigit. 155. Qui, idest quo modo. protulit, scilicet Musactus. 156. buosta, idest Paduam. 157. pecudes, idest homines. actas, exactas. Frigis, Trojana. de pestibus, quia Padua ex reliquiis Trojanorum facta est. 158. pastores, idest

Text, p. 184. reges. Apone, idest fluvium Paduanum prope balnea Paduana. 159. novus, idest noviter profectus. 160. sertatum, idest coronatum. *Paneta*, *Dannes* [= *Daphne*] verna in laurum. 161. polito, idest pellis varorum [= *vair*]. 162. cornibus, sertatis. 164. inornati, non coronati. mentem, idest recordatus sum magistri Johanna. 165. dare verbula, loqui. 166. verbasti, idest dixisti. conjux, quam non habebat sed erat in tractatu accipiendi. 167. protendat, conjux. 168. tua, scilicet rura. extranea, scilicet a te. gubernans, quia forte Potestas erat Cesene. 171. margin, propter tria inter se et in alia certant; scilicet pro nido, victu, et amore. 172. pardi, idest Catalani; and on the margin: vocat hos Pardos ob agilitatem membrorum. 173. confidas, idest adulatoribus tibi ridentibus. 174. antra, idest in turri comitis Romandiole. 175. apes, idest cives, cum ponis eis collectas [= *taxes*]. 176. da, idest dio. responderit, tibi. 177. Hoc, scilicet Musacto. note, a me. menti religi, idest recordatus fui tui. 178. O formose poeta, O Musacta. 179. incomptus, idest non lauro poetica ornatus ut tu. 180. quoque, pro et. 181. Aganipeo, Musis consecrato. 182. Mopsus, scilicet magister Johannes. quondam, dum scripsit sibi Dantes. nunc, scilicet cum ipse tibi scribit. 183. dicitur, ipse magister Johannes. verna, idest servus, quia de Virgilio cognominatur. 184. ille, *Alphesibeu*. 185. dat, idest permittit. 187. magistri, scilicet Virgilij. 188. *Aonie* gereret, etc., idest coronari ut poeta. 190. *Oythoram*, mons est quem Virgilius [*Georg.* ii. 437] commendat, otopertas bumo [= *buxo*]. 191. quaque, idest ea parte. 194. famosis, idest laudatis. 195. integrat, idest crescit. 196. remarras, idest laudas. 197. arder, idest desiderium. 198. explebo, idest proficiam quod cupio. 200. At, pro sed. Illud, scilicet *Alfesiheum*. 203. tangatur, a te. carmine, tuo. vates, idest *Alfesiheus*. 209. quas, avenas. illi, scilicet Musacto. *Lyidas*, idest dominus Lovactus; licos enim Grece lupus Latine. 210. On the margin: Scilicet dominus Rolandus de Placiola. Alcon probus Grecus fuit; et ipse ideo Rolandus Alcon dicitur quia viri probissimi nomen habet. 211. quibus, scilicet avenis. *Ysidis*, *isotta*. ignes, idest amores. 212. fugibundula, fugiens regem Marcum maritum suum et Palamedem. *tridis*, flavis tricis dicitur eo quod dicebatur *Ysotta la bionda*. 214. sola, idest *Ysotta*. 215. qua, idest propter quam. heroes, idest viri probi. *Britanni*, quia in Britania finguntur ista fuisse. 216. *Lancloeth*, miles quidam. *Lamiroth*, miles quidam. *Palamedes*, miles quidam. 217. dimisit, scilicet avenas. *dicens*, dominus Lovactus. cerneris, tu scilicet. 218. tua tempora, etc., idest coronaberis poeta. 219. inexculto, idest non coronato. *canna*, idest villa. *queve*, pro et. 220. stetit, quia diu est quod non versificavi. *salignis*, idest *salicis*. 221. *graciles*, idest stupide. 222. pre, idest melius. 223. *Organico*, sonoro. *tetrisset*, tetrire anatarum est. 225. *Maroniades*, idest Vergilianus. *interpres*, idest lector vel expositor. *avenas*, idest libros seu carmina Vergilij. 226. *agnomine*, quia vocaris magister Johannes devirgilio. 227. *vallis*, quia de bucolico. 228. On the margin: Nam postquam magister Johannes misit Danti eglogam illam Forte sub irriguos, etc., stetit Dantes per annum ante quam

faceret Velleribus Colchis, et mortuus est ante quam eam miceret; et postea filius ipsius Dantis misit illam predicto magistro Johanni. Tityron, idest Dantem. 229. Flammineis, idest Romandioliis. occumbit, mortuus. Sarnius, scilicet Dantes, a Sarno fluvio. 230. mirentur, supple ut. 231. Ne trepida, idest ne trepides. 234. ridere, pro de. 235. Zephyrus, ventus. ornos, illas arborea. 236. Menalus, mons Arcadie. 237. elephas, sternetur ab. bubulus, ab. 238. Ida, mons seu silva in qua nutritus est Jupiter. Oeta, mons est Tesalie in quo mortuus est Hercules. 240. nec, idest non. sine, idest desine. 244. parere, idest parendi. posse, idest quia voluntas major est potentia. 245. rara facultas, quia modicum scientie mihi. 246. officium, docendi scolares. commeditandi, idest inveniendi. 247. genus, scilicet scolares. 249. preponere, quia reputo me postam cum carmina condo. 252. addiderat, supple hoc. 253. On the margin: finis imponitur locutionibus predictorum et vertit se ad causam quare non missa fuit citius. 255. sed, idest est. lata gravis, quia captus fuit et decapitatus. 258. dimittere, idest tibi mittere. 259. parili, quia cepit dominum Grellum. 260. minus, idest non. 261. brumali, idest iemali mercede. 263. incoetare, idest violare. 264. pedantes, idest euntes pedes. 265. illas, scilicet musas. 266. deas, musas. insana, iniqua et violenta. 267. volarunt, muse. 268. tanta, erat. 275. On the margin: Versus magistri Johannis ultimos, ponentes excusationem quare prius laudavit nunc vituperat illum. ovis, egloge. 276. balatum, cantum. 278. heu me, idest heu. 279. eras, tu quando ego hanc eglogam componebam. 280. ut querula, etc., idest ut faciamus descriptiones tibi solantes te.

At the close: Explicit.

Heading of Carmen VII.: missi magistro Johanni de virgilio.

Heading of Carmen VIII.: responsio magistri Johannis. At the close: expliciunt.

Heading of Carmen IX.: Magister guido vacchetta magistro Johanni de virgilio.

Heading of Carmen X.: Responsiva magistri iohannis. At the close: expliciunt.

Heading of Carmen XI.: versus magistri Iohannis de Virgilio. At the close: expliciunt.

II. MEDICÆO-LAURENTIAN MS. xxxix. 26.

M₁.—Heading of Carmen II.: Celebris viri atque poete clarissimi Dantis aligerij de florentia buccolicum carmen incipit. Egloga prima Inqua solus loquitur auctor.

At the end of Carmen II.: Explicit egloga dantis j^a. Incipit ejusdem ij^a. In qua auctor solus loquens recitat que inter se dixerunt Tytirus et Alphesibeus pastores.

On which follows Carmen IV., with the final note: Celebris poete Dantis aligerij de florentia buccolicum carmen explicitum est feliciter.

Carmen III. is headed: Viri insignis Johannis de Virgilio cœnatis buccolicum carmen et hujus egloga prima in qua solus loquitur auctor.

Commentary,
p. 254.

Description,
p. 274.

And at the end: Explicit egloga j^a Johannis de Virgilio. Incipit ejusdem ij^a egloga in qua auctor loquens introducit daphnim Melibeum et Merim loquentes.

On which follows Carmen VI., at the end of which we read: Celebris viri Johannis de Virgilio Cesenatis seu Bononiensis Buccolicum carmen explicit feliciter.

At the close of the whole ms.: Scripsit totum frater Jacobus de Vulterris.

III. PALATINE MS. 3198.

P.—The titles of the poems were not written in by the scribe; but notes in faint ink are discernible in the corners of the pages, indicating what the titles were to be. Spaces for the initial letters are likewise left, and the letters themselves are indicated in the same faint ink. The titles quoted from the *Tabula cod. MSS. bibl. palat. vindobon.* by Macri-Leone (on which he bases an argument for the independence of this ms.) are modern and have no critical value.

Carmen I., in the right-hand corner: Viri insignis Johannis de virgilli [sic] bucolicum carmen incipit.

Carmen II., in right-hand corner: In hac solus loquitur auctor.

Carmen III., left corner: Johanna. Right corner: In hac ecloga solus loquitur auctor.

Carmen IV., right-hand corner (right-hand margin gone): Egloga dantis aligerij [ad . . .] missa in qua auctor solus [loquitur que] inter se dixerint Tityrus et [. . .].

IV. GEROLAMINI MS. x. 11.

G.—Carmen I. follows a collection of Petrarch's Eclogues, to which is appended the note: Inoliti viri francisci Petrarchę Poetę clarissimi Buccolicorum Liber feliciter A me Simone serrentino expletus pridie nonas Julij 1489.

Carmen I. is headed: Egloga Jo. vir. ad dantem.

Carmen II.: Egloga dantis Ad jo. vir.

Carmen III.: Egloga secunda Jo. ad dantem.

On the margin of Carmen IV., and in different ink: Responsio dantis.

And at the end of Carmen IV.: Aldegherij Dantis ultima egloga explicit.

This is followed by the note: Pieridum vox alma. Scilicet(?) Egloga Johannis Virgiliani ad dantem reprehendentis stilum et vulgarem sermonem Comedię ipsius: quę scribitur metro heroico exegetico. verumtamen pro parte immerito dicitur egloga: ubi scilicet non bucolice scribit: sicut usque ad illam partem justa tuis [i.e. line 25]. Abinde autem citra bucolice loquitur. Est autem ista quidem epistola quę 5 partes continet videlicet exordium, narrationem, confutationem, confirmationem et conclusionem: ut patet infra. non enim abdicatur ut epistola bucolico

carmine scribi possit. Scripsit enim iste virgilianus multas eglogas ad diversas personas de diversis locis et ad diversa loca. scripsit namque ad musæctum poetam paduanum de faentia eglogam incohantem Tu modo pieris vates redimite corimbis. Scripsit ad dantem morantem ravenne cum domino ravennati Guidone: et scripsit de bononia. fuit namque hic Joannes virgilianus natione bononiensis habitans in porta nova ante ecclesiam sancti salvatoris: quamvis ut ipse in alia egloga testatur majores sui fuerint paduani. legit quippe bononię paduę et faentię tempore quo de bononia exulavit pars gebellina fuit namque perfectus gebellinus et Dantes ipse.

V. ESTENSIAN MS. LAT. 676.

E.—Carmen I. is headed: Iohannis Aldigherij (sic) Bononiensis ad Dantem poetam florentinum.

Carmen II.: Egloga prima responsionis dantis ad Virgilianum.

Carmen III.: Egloga secunda iohannis virgiliani ad dantem.

Carmen IV.: Responsio dantis aldegheerii ad virgilianum.

APPENDICES.

**I. DEL VIRGILIO'S TREATISE ON OVID'S META-
MORPHOSES.**

II. LOVATO.

III. THE LETTER OF FRATE ILARIO.

IV. THE HOUSES OF POLENTA AND MALATESTA.

I.

MACRÌ-LEONE¹ discusses the authenticity of certain works attributed to Del Virgilio by Ciccarelli da Besagna, who flourished in the 16th century. He tells us that Tiraboschi and Fantuzzi unhesitatingly reject them all, and he himself agrees with them with respect to all except the treatise on the allegories of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. He enumerates four Latin and three Italian MSS. of this work. It is evident, therefore, that it had a fairly wide diffusion. The MSS. attribute it to Giovanni del Virgilio, and such an ascription is not lightly to be put aside. The treatise, however, falls in every respect below the level we should expect in Del Virgilio's work; and in the Latin MS. at San Gemignano (on which this study is exclusively based) we find, in the 21st metamorphosis of Book v., a reference to the Hungarians of Scythia, who are spoken of as "adhuc depredantes Latinos." The earliest events to which it seems natural to apply these words are those of 1347-1349, during which years the Hungarians, whom Louis had led against Queen Joanna to avenge the death of his brother Andrew, devastated Italy. Now, no doubt, Del Virgilio may have survived to this period; but the indications, such as they are, are against the supposition. We lose all trace of him after about 1326, and the scholiast on *Carmen* vi. declares that his premature death prevented him from receiving the poetic crown.² The objection, however, is hardly conclusive. The work is precisely of the kind that would be freely interpolated, though we cannot say without an examination of the other MSS. whether any considerable divergency or other direct evidence of interpolation actually exists.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63.

² Boccaccio (*Vita di Dante*) speaks of him as "allora famosissimo e gran poeta"; but the date of the composition of the *Vita* is too uncertain to allow us to base any argument on this phrase.

The only other possible clue to the date of the work which we have discovered is a reference in the last section of this same Book v. to "Robertus" as a commentator on the *Summula* of Petrus Hispanus; but we have not been fortunate enough to succeed in identifying him.

The treatise itself is a curious illustration of the passion for allegorizing with which the most casual student of mediæval literature is familiar. It is well known that the pagan writers of the early Christian centuries were hardly behind the Christians themselves in allegorizing their poetic "Scriptures," from Homer downwards, and the Christians too accepted this extension of their own methods and allegorized the pagan writers on their own account. Hence the curious position which pagan mythology and the pagan poets have come to occupy in mediæval Christian literature. The modern reader finds extreme difficulty in arriving at any clear conception of how the heathen deities were really regarded by the Christians. This baffling element is by no means absent from Dante's great work. There, however, there is a system. The passages in *Paradiso*, iv. 61-63, viii. 1-9, and *Convivio*, ii. 5, 34-51; 6, 113-126, give us the key to Dante's general position. The heavenly bodies are actual instruments by which the divine power influences the affairs of men; and a confused sense of this fact led the heathen to personify and adore the planets. This was idolatry; but, at the same time, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and Apollo, for instance, being the names given by the heathen to really divine powers, the man who simply defied them was virtually a rebel against God and a blasphemer, although the man who adored them was no better than an idolater. Hence Virgil is excluded from heaven because he lived in the time of the "false and lying gods," and yet Christ himself is addressed as *sommo Giove* (*Purg.* vi. 118). Flegias is condemned for the sacrilege of his attack on the temple of Apollo. Capaneus is punished in the circle of the blasphemers for his contemptuous defiance of Jupiter; and Aglauro, who was jealous of her sister's intimacy with Mercury, is the analogue of Cain, who was jealous of the divine favour enjoyed by Abel.

From this point of view it was easy to regard the pagan mythology as symbolical or allegorical. The idea of unconscious inspiration was familiar to the mediæval mind. It is this that gives its unspeakable pathos to the position of Virgil, who in his fourth Eclogue foretold the Christian dispensation, and so threw light upon the path of Statius by that lamp which he bore behind him, and which lightened not his own way (*Purg.* xxii. 67-69). What is true of Virgil might be true of the other poets; and when they tell of the giants' attempt to storm heaven, for instance, they might be guided unconsciously so to handle the confused traditions of the past and their own half percep-

tions of the divine activity in the present as to tell Scripture truth in pagan forms. Hence the mediæval student of classical antiquity was perpetually striving to find a spiritual and moral truth hidden under the "beauteous fictions" of the ancient poets. He drew no clear line between such morals as might be intended with full and clear self-consciousness by the poet, and such truths of theology or anticipations of the history of the Church as he uttered as a mere unconscious channel through which the spirit of truth spoke to those who hearing should not hear, and seeing should not understand.

But side by side with the more or less systematic treatment of this subject, which finds its classical expression in Dante, is a more child-like style of allegorizing that asks no questions and is troubled by no anachronisms. It finds an express reference to the Christian clergy in Ovid just as natural as it would be in Exodus, or, for the matter of that, in Augustine or Gregory. And it is to this latter category that our Ovidian treatise, assigned to Del Virgilio, belongs.

No classical poet was more popular in the Middle Ages than Ovid. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that distinctively modern literature has its springs in the French poets of the 12th century, and that these poets were inspired and (paradox as it may seem) "modernized" by the inspiration they drew from Ovid. Now, in the Middle Ages, to be familiar with any work inevitably meant to allegorize it. Ovid's chief work, the *Metamorphoses*, lent itself with singular facility to this process; indeed, it irresistibly challenged it, and a relatively large number of these allegorizings or moralizings of Ovid are still known to exist.¹

Del Virgilio's treatise (if it is really his) may possibly be taken as a specimen of the academical as distinct from the literary treatment of this subject in the 14th century.² The method of the work is to take

¹Gaston Paris, in his "Littérature française au moyen âge" (1888), § 49, mentions one of them, written not later than the beginning of the 14th century, that contains about 70,000 verses, giving a threefold explanation, historical, moral, and theological, to each of the stories in the *Metamorphoses*.

²The MS. of San Gemignano, from which these notes are taken, appears (to the eye of the amateur, for we have no expert evidence on the subject) to date from the 14th century. It is written in two hands, the second of which begins in the middle of bk. vii., on folio 15, according to the present numbering, which is subsequent to the disappearance of certain leaves. The latter half of the MS. is the earlier in date, the former part having obviously been written expressly to supplement it. Both portions are extremely incorrect, such mistakes as *deis* for *dictis* (obviously arising from a misreading of the well-known contraction) being of constant occurrence; and many of the verses are corrupt, almost past recognition. The scribe of the Italian translation in the Laurentian MS. xl. 49 gave up the verses as hopeless, and translated only the prose. *Incommenciame*

the narratives of the *Metamorphoses* seriatim, to "moralize" them after the fashion of the crudest conceivable rationalism, and then to sum up the result in a few doggerel verses. We have seen that it would, at any rate, be premature to insist on the attribution of this work to Del Virgilio as certain; and, whoever wrote the verses, we possess them only in a very corrupt form. But even were they certainly Del Virgilio's, and should some of the other MSS. be found to give them in a tolerable state of preservation, it would still be unfair to our author to include them amongst his "poetic remains." It would be as reasonable to publish

"A dative put, remember pray,
After *envy*, *spare*, *obey*,
Persuade, *believe*, *command*, to these
Add *pardon*, *succour*, and *displease*, etc., etc.,"

as "Poetical Works of the late Rev. T. K. Arnold," as it would be to include these verses amongst Del Virgilio's "Poetic Remains." They are an evidence of the good nature of a hard-worked professor providing his students with an easy means of remembering his points; they are not a record of the lighter moods of a poet.

We will now proceed without further comment to a few selected specimens of the work itself. It begins: "*Whereas* it is the goal of every poet whatsoever to inform the minds of men with manners (wherefore elsewhere at the beginning of this book it is declared to come under *Ethics*, to wit, moral philosophy), and therefore each several transformation described in this book must of right be altogether reduced to morals; *Therefore* the first transmutation is from chaos to the four elements, which is thus described in verse:

'Nature dominus cupientis ad esse misertus
Quatuor in species traxit inane chaos;
Cunctaque formavit summe pietatis amore
Ut sibi conplaudant participentque boni.'

Wherefore this transformation is reduced to this moral, to wit, that men ought to join in the praise of God who thus re-formed all nature."

The second transmutation may be given complete in the original: "*Secunda transmutatio est terre in hominem, qui vel creatus fuit*

lalegorie del maestro giovanni di virgilio sopra lefaule douidio methamorfoseos disposte brieuemente in prosa et in versi. Ma impercio che i versi dicono quel medesimo che laprosa et sono alquanto corrotti per uitio deglignoranti scriptori dellaltro primo exemplo non curo di traslatare I dicti versi concio sia cosa che basti bene solamente volgarizzare laprosa. We have had no hesitation in emending the verses whenever we could recover their original form with security; but we have preserved the spelling of the MS.

divino semine, vel creatus fuit ex terra a prometheo. Prima sic est descripta

‘Quod dicatur homo divino semine cretus
Communis ratio vult hominique deo.’

Sed per prometheum intellige unum philosophum qui philosophatus est hominem factum esse ex terra et inspiratum esse anima de celis orta. Unde dictum est

‘Prometheus hominem limo plasmasse refertur
Nam primum dixit est homo factus humo;
De rota solis animam traxisse putatur
De celis ortam philosophatus eam.’¹

Et nota quod prometheus sic interpretatur, *pro* idest provisio, *me* idest mentis *theus* idest divine, unde prometheus idest provisio divine mentis. Unde dictum est

‘Est quoque divine mentis provisio dictus
Qua fuit in verbo vivificatus homo.’

Prometheus, then, was “in truth” a philosopher who taught certain things. The myth represents him as a man who did them. This is one of Del Virgilio’s accepted formulæ of allegorical interpretation, and he works it very hard. Thus the giants “who went about to attack Jove, . . . are men who in the pride of wealth wax so haughty as not to believe in God.”

“Non deus est ajunt tumidi telluris alumpni
Pellere sic celo velle videntur eum.”

And many other instances might be added. Our author’s partiality for philosophers is quite worthy of a Professor. Academic disputation bulks very large indeed in his conception both of life and of Ovid. Cadmus, for instance, was a Theban philosopher, who sent his disciples to dispute with a philosopher at Athens who had slighted him, but they were defeated; whereon Cadmus himself went and smote him with a stone, by launching a tremendous problem (*grossam questionem*) at

¹ There are two false quantities here, to say nothing of the lengthening of the *is* in *caesura*. The *o* of *rota* is short, and so is the *e* of *philosophus*. The verses are so corrupt that one cannot lay much stress on isolated instances of this kind. But it is certain that the author of this treatise habitually scans the *e* of the oblique cases of *mulier* long, e.g.,

“Vir generare viros mulieres femina fertur.”

There are many other instances, too many to explain away. The same scansion is found in other mediæval poets. Are we to regard these false quantities as militating against the ascription of the work to Del Virgilio? Or did he allow himself latitude in such matters when writing verses which were merely intended to store the memory?

him. The iron men were the erroneous and inconsistent solutions of this portentous problem which the discomfited rival issued; the five survivors are the five vowels. Again, Atlas was an astronomer who once got Hercules to "sustain a thesis for him," and, receiving some corrections of his system from him, resumed his support of the heavens (i.e. his astronomical lectures), but with something of a twist from their former position. Many other instances might be given.

Some of the interpretations display an amusing ingenuity. Actæon was a huntsman who saw Diana naked, that is to say, he perceived the great folly of sport. So he gave it up, but he kept his dogs (apparently for old friendship's sake), and they ate him out of house and home and so ruined him. Again, Jove gave the infant Bacchus to the nymphs to rear, that is to say, you should always mix water with your wine. Once again, corals represent sins, because they only grow when concealed.

Here the "morals" are quite unimpeachable. But this is not always the case, for a "moral" simply means an application to *mores* or manners. Thus in the story of Jupiter and Danae we are given incidentally a "moral" saw, which is not conspicuously moral:

"Nam dicitur moraliter:

'Si dederis dona

Femina nulla bona';

and Del Virgilio's own verses on the subject are tuned by the same fork:

"Jupiter ut Danae sic tu quancunque requiris

Aurea si plueris munera victor eris."

It is interesting, too, to note that while some of Del Virgilio's morals (those on the stories of Iphys and of Pygmalion, for instance) are as unedifying as can well be imagined, his interpretations of the unedifying stories are generally quite irreproachable. For instance, Ovid's disgusting epilogue to the story of Orpheus is thus moralized: "Et cepit spernere mulieres dans animam suam deo et cepit amare viros idest viriliter agere. Unde mortuus est mundo."¹

Anticipations of the ecclesiastical conditions of the writer's own time are incredibly naïve. For instance, the daughters of King

¹This is entirely in accord with earlier mediæval practice. The scandalous stories of the Old Testament are allegorized into highly edifying parables, but the modern reader will often be more profoundly shocked by the edification than by the original scandal. Rabanus Maurus, for instance, allegorizes the story of David's sin on these lines: David=Christ; Bathsheba=the human soul; Uriah=the devil.

Cynaras are turned into the steps of temples, "for the truth is that Cynaras had seven daughters who, as long as they prospered, despised God, and despised the Church of Christ, and scoffed at folk who went to church, wherefore by the will of God they came to such misery and poverty that they had to stand at the gates of the churches to beg for alms, and therefore they were said to be turned into the steps of temples because it was as if folk walked over them just as they do over the steps of a temple ; wherefore it is said :

‘Templa recusantes cinare per prospera nate
Templorum misere procubuerunt gradus.’”

Phoebus is a wise man who sometimes lapses from wisdom and gives himself up to worldly vices ; “but as for his smiting Jove’s Cyclopes, we are to take them as preachers who are more persecuted by that kind than by any other ; for the Cyclopes are said to have only one eye, because preachers should have only one thought, to wit the thought of the Lord alone. As to his becoming a cowherd, understand that the wise man thus wanders like a herdsman because he follows after vices ; but under Mercury, who robs him of the kine, understand the divine word which finally carries off the vices from the hearts of such and reduces them to a worthy state. But by Battus, who accuses Mercury to Phoebus, understand the simple and foolish man who does not understand the nature of such thefts, and that is why he is said to be turned into a stone ; whence it is said :

‘Delitans sapiens cedit divina loquentes
Fit ductor vitiis ex deitate cadens,
His argumento sibi mox rationis abactis
Saxeus hoc furtum non putat esse dei.’”

Now and again interesting light is thrown on beliefs, manners, and customs, or on well-known traditions. The traveller in modern Italy and the student of *Faust* will alike find amusement in the following passage on Circe :

“Mutatio corporis est quo ad objectum et etiam quo ad radios visuales. Quoad objectum est pote per virtutem herbarum. Nam ex succo quarundam herbarum cum incantationibus suppositis transmutantur membra hominis sicut faciunt isti poltrones qui ostendunt se infirmos ut lucrentur ; et ita faciebat circes. Est etiam possibilis quoad visum, quia magici cum dyabolicis illusionibus faciunt apparere hominem capram, licet non sit ; sicut fecit quidam cuidam cardinali qui fecit apparere in yeme uvas pulcherrimas et dixit circumstantibus ut inciderent cum gladiis. Sed ablatis illusionibus invenerunt se habere cultellos super genitalibus ; et ita faciebat circes,

quia cum suis incantationibus faciebat homines apparere suos. Et etiam cum herbis suis aliquo modo eos transmutabat."

In conclusion, we may add a few notes on Del Virgilio's treatment of some myths of which Dante has made special use. The giants we have already seen are proud, rich men. "By their being struck by thunder and changed to apes I understand that evil men are changed into beasts, who know not their Creator, and retain nought save the outward semblance of men." Arachne was a "juvenis nolens deum laudare." Marsyas is an unsuccessful disputant, his opponent "excoriavit eum, idest detexit fallacias suas per distinctionem; unde sibi apparuerunt viscera quia tales dum sunt ita excoriati apparent quales sunt;" or perhaps he was an exposed plagiarist, one of such "qui utuntur alienis verbis et questionibus."

In view of the controversy as to Accidia in the *Inferno*, the substitution of Tristitia as its equivalent in the following lines may have a certain interest.

"Nescio si nostis quod triplex nos gravat hostis
 Mundus et immundus spiritus atque caro.
 A se producit caro luxuriamque gulamque,
 Mundus avaritiam tristitiamque parit,
 A Sathana tria sunt elatio livor et ira,
 Ex his nascuntur singula queque mala."

II.

A FEW additional notes on Lovato and his poetry may perhaps interest the reader.

The sources of information about him are the inscription on his tomb now in the Museo Civico at Padua,¹ the references made to him by Mussato and Del Virgilio, a few official notices,² a small body of poetic remains,³ the MS. notes on Seneca's metres already referred to (p. 36), and a story told by Petrarch in the second book *Rerum Memorabilium*.

Petrarch's story⁴ is to the effect that Lovato having come suddenly

¹ Seardeone (*Historia de Urbis Patavii Antiquitate*, ii. 10, pp. 262, 263, in Grævius, vol. vi. part 3) gives the date of his death as 1299, but this is obviously wrong. The director of the Museum, Sig. Andrea Moschetti, has kindly copied the inscription itself for us, and the date is 1309.

² He was knighted in recognition of his eminence as a poet and lawyer, and in addition to holding office in his own city he was Podestà of Vicenza in 1291 and 1292. "Scientia extulit Lovatum, nam scientia sua poetica et iuridica militam meruit habere. Hic legum Doctor et legis conditor de maioribus suo tempore in populo paduano quoad regimen civitatis fuit Lovatus iudex, miles et poeta solemniss. Et in laetum latus est ut quasi di aliquo non curaret." Quoted from a Vatican Codex by Minoia, p. 39. "Fuit (1291) D. Lovatus Iudex Potestas Vicentis: et fecit bonum regimen, et fecit pingi et scribi historias de Palatio (Murat, *Ber. Ital. Scrip.*, t. viii. p. 111)." Apud Minoia, *ibid.* Cf. also Carducci in Padrin's edition of the *Eccrinis*, p. 271.

³ Padrin's work already referred to (see p. 36) is the most important source of information about his poetry; but to this we have not succeeded in getting access.

⁴ In the printed edition the story is given under the name *Donatus*, but the MSS. read *Lovatus*. Mehus (*Vita Ambrosii Traversarii*, p. cccxiii.) expresses his legitimate pride at having conjecturally restored the true reading before he found it in manuscript. Both the printed edition and Mehus, however, miss the point of the story (such as it is) by reading *scio* for *scia*. Seardeone (*op. cit.*) paraphrases the story (unless he drew from a different MS. version of it), but gives us the point.

into Court, on a certain occasion, in his ordinary dress, was treated by the magistrate with scant respect. By-and-bye the latter, wishing to display his learning, prefaced the remark he intended to make by the question, "*Scis litteras?*" i.e. "Do you understand Latin?" To which Lovato answered: "*Scis paucas,*" i.e. "You do not understand much," uttered in such a manner as to give the impression that he intended to say "*Scio paucas,*" "I know a little," but had blundered between the first and second persons of the verb. The magistrate laughed hugely at the supposed "howler," and refraining from his Latin quotation returned to the matter in hand.¹ Presently, when Lovato had left the Court, the magistrate was informed who the supposed ignoramus was, and perceiving how he had exposed himself, was covered with confusion.

Scardeone says that Lovato must have written a considerable body of poetry to have established such a reputation as he enjoyed; but he was unable to discover anything except the epitaph he composed for the tomb of Antenor (which was discovered in his day) and the epitaph on his own tomb, which Scardeone describes as *lepidissimus*. The epitaph on Antenor runs as follows:

"Inclytus Antenor patriæ vox nisa quietem
Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumque fugas.
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,
Quem tenet hic humili marmore cæsa domus."

"Illustrious Antenor, whose vote was given for the peace of his fatherland, transferred hither the fugitive Heneti and Dardanians. He drove out the Euganeans, he founded the city of Padua, whom here his home cut out of humble stone contains." The reader will remember that Antenor had the unenviable reputation of a traitor, and Dante calls a region of Hell, in which traitors to their country freeze, *Antenora*, after him. But some authors took a more favourable view of his conduct, which is gravely discussed by Villani (i. 17); and the Paduans, of course (from Livy downwards, cf. *Liv.* i. 1), favoured the version of his conduct which showed their founder in the most favourable light. According to them, Antenor and Æneas had voted for repudiating the breach of hospitality of which Paris had made himself guilty, and for restoring Helen to her husband. Pleasant relations were established between them and

¹ It would appear then that pleadings might be, and often were, carried on in Italian at the time. Here, as is so often the case, the value of a story, anything but "memorable" in itself, is to be found in the inferences that can be drawn from it.

the Greek envoys, whose demands they endeavoured to enforce, and in memory of old times the victorious Greeks suffered Antenor and Æneas to escape unhurt from Troy; hence the slanderous story arose that they had favoured the Greek arms. Lovato contrives in his brief epitaph to show Antenor in the light of a wise and patriotic citizen. His was "a voice that supported the peace of his fatherland,"—so at least we understand the passage, though the Latinity of *nix* in this sense seems more than doubtful.

The second inscription runs :

"Mors mortis morti mortem ai morte dedisset,
Hic foret in terris aut integer astra petisset.
Sed quia dissolvi fuerat sic juncta necesse,
Ossa tenet saxum, melior pars gaudet in esse."

"If the death of death had inflicted death upon death by death, then this man would be on earth or would have sought the stars in his integrity; but inasmuch as the things thus joined must needs be parted, the stone holds his bones; his better part rejoices in existence." For the comprehension of this "very elegant" enigma it is only necessary to note that in *Hosæ*, xiii. 14, the Vulgate reads "ero mors tua o mors." "Mors mortis," therefore, is a paraphrase for *Christ*. If Christ by his death on the cross had really annihilated death, then Lovato would either be still living on earth or would have ascended to heaven *integer*, that is to say with body and soul united. But since the severance of the two elements of man's nature is inevitable, his bones are committed to the tomb while his soul still lives. Round the basis of the tomb run the lines :

"Id quod es, ante fui; quid sim post funera queris?
Quod sum (quicquid id est) tu quoque lector eris.
Ignea pars cælo, cæcæ pars ossæ rupi,
Lectori cessit nomen inane Lupi."

"What thou art I once was. Dost thou ask what, after death, I am? What I am (whatsoever it is) thou, reader, shalt sometime be. The fiery part fell to heaven as its share; the bony to the chisled rock; to the reader the empty name of Lupus."

The character of these few lines is calculated to console us for the loss of the more bulky works of Lovato; but Del Virgilio's account of his poem on Iseult (*Carmen* vi., lines 211-216) has a genuine Arthurian flavour. If he caught it by reflection from the poem itself, it must have been far more interesting than the epitaphs.

And this impression is to some extent confirmed by the few

lines of the poem preserved in the Laurentian MS., xxxiii. 31 (folio 46):

"Turris in amplexu laticum fabricata virentem
Despicit agrorum faciem ; procul exulat artos
Sponte sua ; tristi ridens patet area bello.
Huc studio formata dei cantata britano
Hyseis ardenti totiens querenda marito
Venerat insanos frustrans Palamedis amores."

"The castle, reared within the embrace of waters, looked down upon the verdant stretch of country ; Arthur was far distant in self-imposed exile ; the smiling plain lay exposed to dismal war. Hither Iseult, made by Divine, enchanted by Britannic, art, so often to be sought by her empassioned spouse, had gone, frustrating the mad love of Palamede."¹

Of his poem on the Guelfs and Ghibellines, so far as we are aware, no trace exists.

The statement of Secco Polentone (quoted by Mehus, *Vita Ambrosii*, p. ccxxxiii.), that it was specially at the recommendation of Lovato that Mussato was crowned, must be a mistake, for Lovato died in 1309, and Mussato was not crowned till 1314 at the earliest. Is it possible that Secco was confounding Lovato with his nephew Rolando ?²

¹The *Morte Darthur*, in Bk. VIII. chap. xxx., tells how Iseult escaped from Palamede, while he was fighting with Lambegus, and how she found refuge in the castle of Sir Adherp ; but it throws no light on the reference to Arthur.

²Of. p. 44 note. Secco Polentone was chancellor of Padua early in the fifteenth century, and included a notice of Mussato in his *De Scripturis Latinis* (see Muratori, *R.I.S.*, x. 1-2). Secco inhabited the house near the Ponte Molino that had been Mussato's.

III.

"THIS book of the *Comedy*," writes Boccaccio, "according as one maintains, he dedicated to three most distinguished Italians, after its three-fold division; one to each, after this fashion: the first part, to wit the *Inferno*, he dedicated to Uguccione della Faggiuola, who was then in Tuscany, Lord of Pisa, in marvellous glory; the second part, to wit the *Purgatorio*, he dedicated to the Marquis Moroello Malaspina; the third part, to wit the *Paradiso*, to Frederick II., King of Sicily. Some will have it that he dedicated the whole to Messer Cane della Scala; but as to which of these two is the truth we have nothing else to go on, save only the random discourse of diverse; nor is it matter of so great weight as to call for serious investigation."¹

Since Messer Giovanni's days men have come to believe that there is nothing connected with Dante, or with his immortal work, that is not "matter of so great weight as to call for serious investigation," even if we have nothing to guide our researches save this "random discourse of diverse," *il volontario ragionare di diversi*—of which would that we had more, if it could in any way be traced back to days so near the poet's own as were Boccaccio's. And in this special case we are inclined to think that the matter has, perhaps, not had the serious investigation that its weight demands.

In the present work we have taken the view that the third cantica, at least, was dedicated to Can Grande. The letter to Can Grande seems to imply that only the *Paradiso* was dedicated to him; but if the literary relations between the Imperial Vicar and the Divine Poet were such as we have suggested,² it will readily be seen how

¹ *Vita*, § 15.

² See pp. 91-95. Our Prolegomena were already printed when G. Vandelli's important article on the Letter to Can Grande came into our hands (*Bullettino della Società Danteica Italiana*, N.S. viii. ff. 7-8).

Boccaccio's informants at Ravenna may have come to suppose that the whole poem had been similarly dedicated.

Boccaccio's alternative—the triple dedication to Uguccione, Moroello, and King Frederick—is closely connected with a famous Dantesque document, the problematic epistle of Frate Ilario del Corvo. This production, familiar at least by name to all who have even dabbled in Dante lore, purports to have been written by a Camaldolese monk, Ilario, Prior of the Convent of Santa Croce del Corvo in Lunigiana, to Uguccione della Faggiuola, and describes a striking, not to say melodramatic visit from the Divine Poet. At present the letter is altogether discredited. Scartazzini went so far as to say that “of that silly imposture, the epistle of Frate Ilario, it is not worth while to take the slightest notice. . . . From the scientific point of view it is proved and re-proved apocryphal, absurd, ridiculous, and that is enough.”¹ As far as we have observed, it is not even remotely referred to in Mr. Paget Toynbee's exhaustive *Dante Dictionary*; and, in fact, the epistle is regarded by the majority of Dante scholars as almost outside the pale of serious discussion. Scheffer-Boichorst appears to have been its last defender.²

In this letter Frate Ilario, after very appropriately applying the texts, “A good man out of a good treasure bringeth forth good things,” and “By their fruits you shall know them,” to Dante (whom, oddly, he does not name) and his works, professes to be going to forward a copy of what is evidently the *Inferno* (with his own commentary upon it) to Uguccione, and tells the following remarkable story of how it was put into his hands by the author himself.

“When this man was directing his way to the ultramontane regions and was passing through the diocese of Luni, he presented himself at this monastery, moved by the holy repute of the place or by some other cause. And when I saw him—unknown as yet both to myself and to all my brethren—I asked him what he sought; and, as he answered not a word, but kept measuring the construction of the place with his eye, I asked him again what he sought; whereon he, looking round upon me and upon the brethren, answered: ‘Peace.’ Thereon the desire burned ever hotter in me to know what manner of man this might be, and I drew him apart from the others; and then, having had some speech with him, I knew him; for though I had never until that day beheld him, yet his fame had long since reached me. But when he saw that my attention was rivetted upon him, and perceived that I was hanging upon his words, setting aside reserve,

¹ *Prolegomeni*, p. 425.

² *Aus Dantes Verbannung*, Strassburg, 1882, pp. 227-245.

he drew a little book from his breast, and very courteously offered it to me. 'See here,' he said, 'one part of a work of mine that, I take it, you have not seen. I leave it as a token with you, that you may more firmly remember me.'

Frate Ilario takes the book eagerly and gratefully, and then and there begins to read it; but when he finds it is written in the vernacular, he cannot refrain from expressing his astonishment, together with his opinion that the vesting of such high matters with a popular robe is unfitting. Dante answers that he himself had once thought the same, and that at the outset, when "the seed, perhaps infused from Heaven, began to germinate," he had actually commenced to write his poem in Latin:

"Ultima regna canam, fluido contermina mundo,
Spiritus quæ lata patent, quæ præmia solvunt
Pro meritis cuicumque sua."

But when he had pondered over the conditions of the age, he saw the works of the classical poets, *cantus illustrium poetarum*, despised, and that noble men, for whom such things were written in better times, abandoned the liberal arts to the vulgar herd. "Wherefore I laid down the lyre, upon which I had relied, and prepared another suited to the perceptions of moderns; for in vain is food that needs chewing offered to the mouths of sucklings." And he concludes by requesting Frate Ilario himself to furnish the poem with a commentary, *cum quibusdam glossulis*, and to forward it so furnished to Ugucione della Faggiuola.

"If anything should appear ambiguous in it," so the good Father adds, with a modesty that every modern commentator should lay to heart for imitation, "impute it to my insufficiency alone, for without doubt the text itself should be held perfect in every respect." If Ugucione should hereafter desire to obtain the second and third parts of the poem, he will find them with the Marquis Moroello and King Frederick of Sicily respectively. "For the author assured me that, after he had considered the whole of Italy, he chose you three above all for the dedication of this tripartite work."¹

It is at once obvious that this letter is very closely connected with Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*. Although Boccaccio says not a word about Ilario, and makes no mention of Dante's visit to Santa Croce del Corvo, the whole passage in the letter concerning Dante's reasons for writing the *Divine Comedy* in Italian, together with the three lines of

¹ The Latin text of the letter may be read in Fraticelli's *Storia della Vita di Dante Alighieri*, Florence, 1861, and elsewhere.

the original Latin opening, occurs almost word for word in the *Vita*,¹ as also the story of the three-fold dedication—in the latter case, indeed, with a saving proviso added, *secondo il ragionare d'alcuno*. Bartoli, one of the most strenuous opponents of its authenticity, considered that the letter was a forgery of the latter part of the fourteenth century, based upon this very chapter in Boccaccio's little book; and this was until recently the view of many Dante scholars. Now that it is recognized that the Laurentian MS., Pl. xxix. 8, in which alone the letter occurs, is Boccaccio's autograph, and apparently earlier than the *Vita*,² this view is no longer tenable, and the question obviously needs re-stating.

Apart from this, the chief arguments that have been urged against the letter are: the want of coherence in the whole story; the unlikelihood of Dante's thus trusting his work to be commented upon and forwarded by a stranger; the alleged impossibility of his having dedicated any portion of his work either to Uguccione or to Frederick of Sicily. And a further argument was based on the assumption that Ilario's letter dates, or professes to date, from 1308, at which period the *Inferno* had certainly not been completed. The letter itself implies that the rest of the poem had not yet been written, and that the dedications to Moroello and Frederick of Sicily were still in the future. But this would not be sufficient to save it, if it represented the *Inferno* as finished in 1308.

The coherence and probability of the story, as told, are matters of individual opinion, and (supposing the letter to be genuine) we have no means of judging whether Frate Ilario was likely to be a faithful reporter of what passed between Dante and himself, and whether any minor inconsistencies may be placed to his account. The letter does not tell us how far Dante had instructed the monk to go with his *quibusdam glossulis*, which may have been a very small matter indeed. Do we not often meet men and women, whose literary pretensions are of the slightest, but who nevertheless astound us by the important commissions they profess to have received from leading publishers, editors, and authors?

It is on the questions of the dedications and the dates involved that the epistle must stand or fall. We know from Dante's poetical correspondence with Giovanni del Virgilio that by 1319 the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* had been published, and that Dante was then engaged upon the *Paradiso*—which latter, as we have seen, he appears to have published in instalments, through Can Grande della Scala,

¹ *Vita*, § 15, "Perchè la Commedia sia stata scritta in volgare."

² See description of MSS., p. 268.

during the last three years of his life (1319—1321), the thirteen closing cantos being still unpublished at his death. It seems equally clear that the *Inferno* could not have been completed and published before May, 1314, at the earliest, as the nineteenth Canto contains a reference to the death of Pope Clement V., who died in the April of that year.¹ Now if the ordinarily accepted date of 1308 or 1309 for Ilario's letter were correct, it is obvious that its authenticity would be out of the question—unless we supposed that it was only the earlier cantos that Dante had intrusted to Frate Ilario (which the letter hardly suggests) or an earlier version of the *Inferno* than what we now possess. But the letter itself bears no date, and the period to which we are to assign it is merely a matter of inference and conjecture. Troya, indeed, gave 1308, and Fraticelli following him gave 1308 or 1309, but the only argument they urge with which we need reckon is that the epistle states that *iste homo ad partes ultramontanas ire intenderet*, and Dante's journey to Paris is believed to have been in 1308 or early in 1309, as we know that he was back in Italy by 1310 or 1311.

But the truth is that, if the letter is genuine, the only possible date at which it could have been written is sometime after the beginning of 1314 and before the middle of 1316. At no other date could even the wildest flight of flattery have addressed Uguccione as "among Italian princes the most pre-eminent," *inter Italicos proceres quamplurimum præeminens* (and this address is not the mere heading by the scribe of the codex, but an integral part of the letter). Before the death of Henry VII., Uguccione was a comparatively unimportant factor in Italian politics, whether as Podestà in Arezzo or as Imperial Vicar in Genoa. But in the latter part of 1313 Pisa chose him as her lord, and in the following year he commenced his brief but tremendous career of conquest in Tuscany, during which the Guelf poet, Folgore da San Gemignano, bitterly declared that God Himself would pay tribute to Uguccione, if he demanded it. This ended, as we have seen, in April, 1316.² It must be observed that Boccaccio, speaking of the dedication, distinctly says that Uguccione "was then in Tuscany, Lord of Pisa, in marvellous glory"; and there is a constant tradition that Dante was his guest at Lucca during this epoch. If the letter is genuine, therefore, it probably dates from the end of 1314 or the beginning of 1315; and this is the very date which the internal evidence of the *Inferno* suggests for its composition and dedication, and is the epoch in

¹ *Inf.* xix. 79-84. In xxviii. 76-90, there is similarly an allusion to an event of 1313; cf. p. 80.

² *Of.* pp. 46-48, and note on *Carmen* I., line 27.

Dante's life, after the death of the Emperor, when he was indeed seeking "peace" and "directing his way to the regions across the mountains," first to Verona and then to his final refuge at Ravenna. If this be the true date the reference to the journey to the "ultramontane parts" does not admit of explanation in connection with Dante's supposed visit to Paris in 1308 or 1309; and the reader will have observed that we have taken the "ultramontanas partes" to mean no more than Italy beyond the Apennines, i.e., Eastern Lombardy and Romagna—a rendering of which we do not disguise the hazardous nature, unless other instances of such a usage can be produced.

Up to this point the case for the authenticity of the letter seems fairly strong, but, at the same time, the internal evidence of the *Inferno* against the dedication to Uguccione is even stronger. Unless we revive Troya's altogether discredited theory that Uguccione is the ideal deliverer of Italy, mystically foretold under the symbol of the *Veltro* in the first canto, there is not the remotest complimentary (or other) reference to him throughout the work, which would be utterly inconsistent with the accepted etiquette of Italian dedication. It may, indeed, be urged that Dante might have afterwards revised the *Inferno* so as to bring it up to date; but there is absolutely no trace of any evidence or manuscript authority to support the theory that there ever existed an earlier version different to what we now possess.

The dedication of the *Purgatorio* to a member of the great Malaspina family is altogether more plausible. In the Valley of the Princes the meeting with Corrado Malaspina gives occasion for a magnificent eulogy of "that honoured race ever adorned with the glory of the purse and of the sword," who "alone go straight and scorn the evil way,"¹ which is in the best style of Italian dedicatory panegyric, analogous to the praises of the Della Scala in the *Paradiso*,² though in a somewhat lower key. It is here that Corrado foretells Dante's gracious reception by the Malaspina in the autumn of 1306, on which occasion the poet was to undertake a diplomatic mission from the Marquis Franceschino Malaspina to the Count Bishop of Luni, Antonio Canulla, with whom the Malaspina had been at war. The object of this mission—concerning which two documents of October 6th, 1306, are preserved in the Archives of Sarzana—was to establish peace between the Bishop and the heads of the three great branches of the

¹ *Purg.* viii. 121-130. Cf. Mr. A. J. Butler's note on this passage, in *The Purgatory of Dante*, London, 1892, p. 97.

² *Parad.* xvii. 70-93.

"Spino Secco" section of the Malaspina—Morcello (of Giovagallo), Franceschino (of Mulazzo), and Corradino (of Villafranca) and his brothers. At Castelnovo di Magra, the seat of Bishop Antonio, Dante pledged his word for Franceschino and, in the name of Franceschino, for Corradino and his brothers, and added that Franceschino would induce, if he could, the Marquis Moroello to ratify the treaty.¹

It was in this way that Dante was brought into contact with that great Guelf noble and soldier, Moroello Malaspina of Giovagallo, that "light in battle from the Magra valley,"² who had just conquered Pistoia for Florence and who was now, for a while, to lead the Guelf league of Tuscany. It should always be remembered and insisted upon that Dante's enthusiastic admirations are by no means confined to one political party, and are frequently quite independent of any such consideration. Nor did Moroello himself conceive of the Guelf ideals in the spirit of a mere faction leader. On the first rumours of the advent of the Emperor Henry, he showed signs of wavering. In March, 1309, the Florentine Signoria sent to assure him that it was "the fixed hope and conviction of all the Florentines that if the whole world should stand aloof and become doubtful or suspected to them, the valour of the Marquises Malaspina would not fail nor be doubtful or suspected to the Florentines," and to remind him that "the most noble blood of Malaspina had ever sustained intolerable labours for the Commune and People of Florence, and had held all the Ghibellines as enemies and had fiercely persecuted them, and had suffered at their hands things that were horrible to hear."³ This was altogether to protest too much, and in the following year, 1310, Moroello formally joined Henry of Luxemburg, and in 1311 was sent by him as Imperial Vicar to Brescia.⁴ In 1314 he intervened as peacemaker between Franceschino Malaspina and the Cardinal Luca del Fiesco; and in 1315 a document of indulgences granted to the Lady Alagia describes her as his widow.

¹ See *I Malaspina ricordati da Dante*, Appendix (by Staffetti) to Bartoli's *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi., and especially the article by L. Staffetti in the *Bullettino*, n.s. vi. f. 6 (Florence. 1899). Cf. the Genealogical Tables of the Malaspina in the *Dante Dictionary*.

² Cf. *Inf.* xxiv. 145.

³ Documents quoted in Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. II, p. 403 (note).

⁴ See documents in Doenniges, *Acta Henrici VII.*, Berlin, 1839, Part i. pp. 15, 18, and especially 138. There were several of the Malaspina named Moroello, but considerations of age make it almost certain that the present Marquis is the one indicated. The other Moroellos suggested as the possible recipients of Dante's dedication (e.g. by Mr. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.* p. 97) were men of no political importance.

It was to this same Alagia that her uncle, Pope Adrian V., looked for prayers in one of the most pathetic passages of the *Purgatorio*.¹ According to tradition, preserved to us by Boccaccio and Benvenuto da Imola, it was whilst staying with Moroello that Dante recovered his lost manuscripts and was persuaded by the Marquis to take up his work again. To Moroello too (if another famous Dantesque epistle is authentic), the divine poet had sent the last of his love lyrics, with a letter confessing that a new and fierce passion of love had taken him captive. What more appropriate or more Dantesque than now to dedicate to the man, who had received that confession of his frailty, the poem which was to show his passage through the purging fire of the seventh terrace of Purgatory?

More difficult is the question as to whether Dante ever intended to dedicate his third Cantic to the Spanish King of Sicily, Frederick II. The only direct statement as to any personal relations between the two is to be found in a passage in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*: "Our Dante was joined in great friendship with Frederick of Aragon, King of Sicily, and the magnificent Cane della Scala, Lord of Verona."² Dante may very probably have actually seen him when, on the death of Henry VII., Frederick came by sea to Pisa and refused the lordship of the city, which Uguccione afterwards accepted. In the earlier portion of his reign Dante thought badly of him, as we gather from a couple of scornful references in the *Convivio* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*,³ passages which were undoubtedly written before 1309, since they speak of Charles II. of Naples as a reigning sovereign, who died in the May of that year. But for a while things altered when Henry of Luxemburg appeared upon the Italian stage. Frederick loyally co-operated with the Imperial forces, and on the death of Henry came forward temporarily as the champion of the Ghibelline idea. It was perhaps then that Dante believed in him, and thought of dedicating his work to him. Possibly we may see a trace of this altered feeling in the allusion to him (put upon the lips of his grandfather Manfredi) at the beginning of the *Purgatorio* as the *onor di Sicilia*, though this is neutralised by a disparaging reference a few cantos later.⁴ Anyway the King's desertion of the cause quickly followed, though it was, perhaps, not an accomplished fact until the latter part of 1316, when he made peace with Robert of Naples. Disgusted and disillusioned, having in the meanwhile found a nobler hero in Can Grande della Scala, Dante now in the *Paradiso* poured forth the vials of his indignation and contempt upon the unfortunate

¹ *Purg.* xix. 142-145,

² *Gene.* iv. 6, *De V.E.* i. 12.

³ *Gene. Deor. Gent.* xiv. 11.

⁴ *Purg.* iii. 116, vii. 119.

Frederick ; "feelings," as Dr. Moore writes, "no doubt intensified by the recollection of what he had once hoped from him." In the volume of divine judgment, the mystical Eagle tells him in Canto xix., will the true character of King Frederick be shown :

"Vedrassi l'avarizia e la viltate
di quel che guarda l'isola del foco,
dove Anchise finì la lunga etate ;
ed a dare ad intender quanto è poco,
la sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,
che noteranno molto in parvo loco."¹

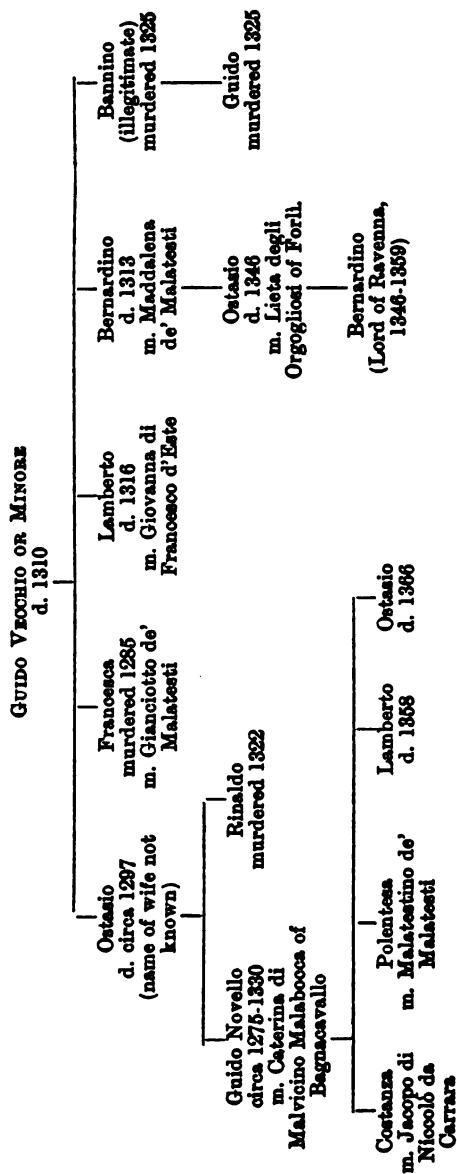
The conclusions we have reached seem to indicate that the judgment passed upon Ilario's letter has been too hasty and too confident. At present, we are by no means prepared to defend its authenticity, but we certainly feel that the question needs further investigation, and in particular we think it may be taken as established that the letter (if authentic) would have to be assigned to the latter part of 1314 or the earlier part of 1315, at which date (before his second visit to Verona concentrated his admiration on the munificence and nobleness of Can Grande) it does not seem altogether impossible that Dante may have intended to dedicate his poem to the three princes mentioned in the letter and by Boccaccio. The picture of the divine poet at the convent threshold is an impressive one, and once found an application in modern Italian politics. In the year 1866, while the law for the suppression of religious corporations was being discussed in the Chamber of Deputies, the deputy Ricciardi, pleading for the preservation of Camaldoli, was greeted with loud laughter from the anti-clerical benches. "I would remind my honourable colleagues who laugh," he promptly rejoined, "that the greatest of all Italians, Dante Alighieri, one day presented himself at the gates of a convent, praying for one hour of peace."

¹ *Parad.* xix. 130-135.; cf. also xx. 63. See Dr. E. Moore on *Dante and Sicily* in *Studies in Dante*, second series, pp. 299, 300.

IV.

THE HOUSE OF POLENTA.

LORDS OF RAVENNA AND CERVIA.

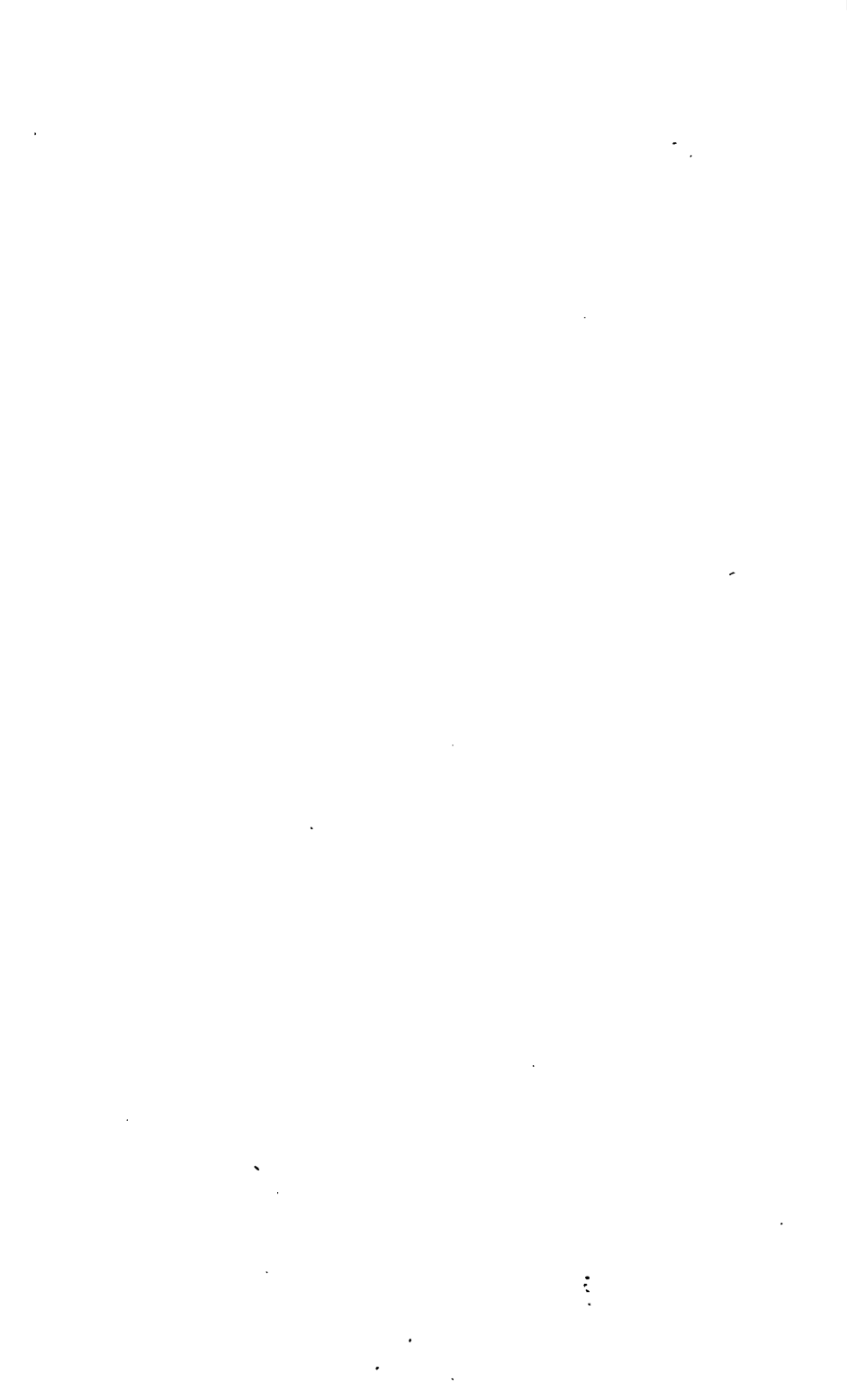


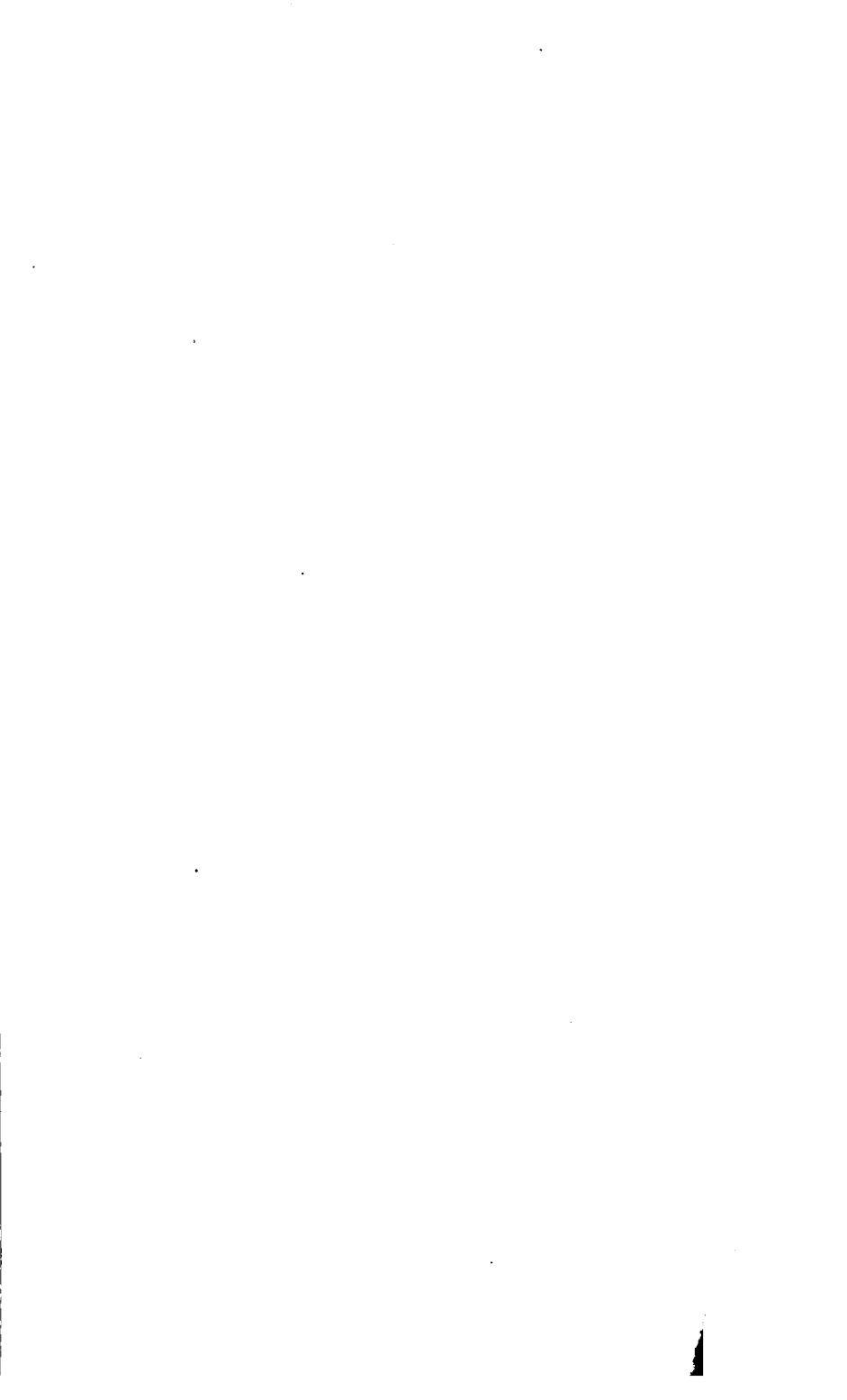
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